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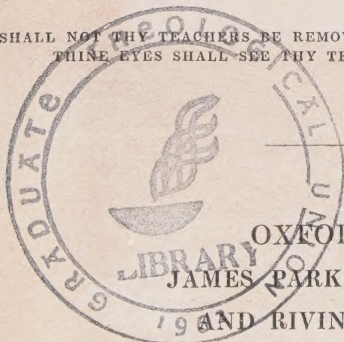


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YET SHALL NOT THY TEACHERS BE REMOVED INTO A CORNER ANY MORE, BUT
THINE EYES SHALL SEE THY TEACHERS. *Isaiah xxx. 20.*

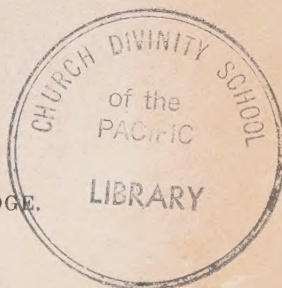


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TO THE MEMORY
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AND
CARRIED ON FOR TWELVE YEARS UNDER HIS SANCTION,
UNTIL HIS DEPARTURE HENCE IN PEACE,
IS
GRATEFULLY AND REVERENTLY
INSCRIBED.

S. CYRIL,
ARCHBISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA.

FIVE TOMES AGAINST NESTORIUS:

SCHOLIA ON THE INCARNATION:

CHRIST IS ONE:

FRAGMENTS AGAINST DIODORE OF TARSUS,

THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA, THE SYNOUSIASTS.



OXFORD,
JAMES PARKER AND CO.,
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P R E F A C E.

ON the death of Theophilus, Archbishop of Alexandria, in A.D. 412, his nephew and successor, S. Cyril, comes suddenly before us. For of S. Cyril's previous life we have only a few scattered notices. We do not know in what year he was born, nor any thing of his parents, nor where he was brought up. That S. Cyril had received a thoroughly good education, is abundantly clear; not only from his very extensive reading, which a mind of such large grasp as S. Cyril's would ever provide for itself, but that his reading being so well digested implies good early training. The great accuracy of his Theology implies a most accurate Theological education. That education included a large range of secular study as well as of Divinity, and probably comprised a good deal of learning by heart, not only of the holy Scriptures but also of profane authors, as witness a line of Antipater Sidonius quoted in his Commentary on Zechariah. He quotes too Josephus on the Jewish war. On Hab. iii. 2, he mentions interpretations of that verse of two different kinds: on Hosea he gives a long extract from a writer whom we do not apparently possess. Tillemont remarks, that "^a his books against Julian shew that he had a large acquaintance with secular writers."

^a S. Cyrille d' Alex. Art. i. init.

We may infer that S. Cyril was brought up at some monastery, as a place of Christian education, and from the great reverence which he ever paid to S. Isidore, Abbot of Pelusium, it seems not unlikely that S. Isidore was his instructor during some part of his early life. S. Isidore alludes to some especial tie, in one of his brief letters to S. Cyril, when Archbishop. Near the beginning, S. Isidore says, “^bIf I be your father as you say I be, or if I be your son as I know I am, seeing that you hold the chair of S. Mark &c.” The large number of Platonic words in S. Isidore’s letters seem to indicate that he too had extensive reading of Plato, and S. Cyril may have acquired from him some of his knowledge of Aristotle.

But a mind of S. Cyril’s grasp would feel itself lost in the desert, yearning for its own calling, and another Letter ^c of the same S. Isidore to S. Cyril, reproaching him with his heart being in the world, may belong to this period. His uncle Archbishop Theophilus had him to live with him and, we may infer, ordained him priest and made him one of his Clergy. In a very long letter which S. Cyril wrote about A.D. 432 to the aged Acacius, Bishop of Berœa, he incidentally mentions the fact that he was at the synod of the Oak, in A.D. 403, where S. Chrysostom’s troubles began. S. Cyril would of course be there, as a portion of Archbishop Theophilus’ official attendance. S. Cyril says, “^dWhen your holy Synod was gathered at great Constantinople . . . and I was one of those standing by, I know that I heard your holiness saying thus.—”

^b Ep. 370. . . . ^c Ep. 25.

^d Synodicon c. 56.

S. Cyril's accession to the Archiepiscopal Throne of Alexandria brought him at once into a position of great power in Alexandria; and brought too, in the early part of it, trials in regard of the disunion between him and Orestes the Governor resulting from the Jewish insurrection against the Christians. To this succeeded some years of great quiet, during which S. Cyril seems to have been very little heard of, outside his Great Diocese. The Archbishops of Alexandria, even in the very stillest times, were brought into yearly contact with the Churches every where by the annual Letter which they wrote to announce the day on which Easter would fall. S. Cyril's letters were evidently intended primarily for his own Egypt^e. Thus in his seventh Paschal homily A.D. 419, he speaks very strongly about deeds of violence in Egypt and mentions the famine there. S. Cyril introduces the subject with, “^fAnd these things we now say to you most especially, who inhabit Egyptian territory,” shewing that the Letters themselves had a larger scope. I do not know at what time the Letter was sent out, so as to reach the distant churches of Rome and Constantinople and Antioch in good time to announce when Lent would begin. But although S. Cyril became Archbishop in October A.D. 412, his first Letter was for 414, in the early part of which (as Tillemont points out) S. Cyril speaks of having succeeded his Uncle. He introduces the subject by mentioning the natural dread of those of old, of

^e So the three Paschal homilies of the Archbishop Theophilus preserved by S. Jerome, are addressed, To the Bishops of the whole of Egypt, t. i. 555, 577, 605 Vall.

^f hom. 7. p. 87 init.

“the greatness of the Divine Ministry,” and speaking of Moses and Jeremiah as instances of this, adds, that “since the garb of the priesthood calls to preach, in fear of the words, *Speak and hold not thy peace*, I come of necessity to write thus.”

Much of these quiet years S. Cyril probably employed on his earlier writings: of these, two were on select passages of the Pentateuch; one volume being allotted to those which S. Cyril thought could in any way be adapted as types of our Lord, the other to the rest, as being types of the church. The commentaries on Isaiah and the Minor Prophets and the Books against the Emperor Julian probably belong to this period. Besides these S. Cyril, following the example of his great predecessor S. Athanasius, wrote two Books against the Arians: first, the *Thesaurus*, in which S. Cyril brought to bear his knowledge of Aristotle; then the *de Trinitate*, which was written, though not published till later, before A.D. 424. In his Paschal homily for that year A.D. 424, S. Cyril also speaks of the Eternal Generation of the Son, and towards the close of the homily^h he opposes the Arian terms “Generate,” “Ingenerate.”

A. D. 429, the circulation of tracts of Nestorius in Egypt occasioned him first to write on the heresy of Nestorius. There can be little doubt that the powerful mind of S. Leo, who was the soul of the Council of Chalcedon, was, in his young days when S. Celestine's Archdeacon in 429, taught through those writings; as S. Cyril himself had been taught by the writings of S. Athanasius.

^g hom. 1. 3 c. 4 a.

^h pp. 174 d e 175, 176.

The 12 Chapters, appended to his last letter to Nestorius, were made a trouble to S. Cyril at a later period of his Episcopate, so that it may be well to give them in full. They were framed to preclude any evasion of that letter.

THE 12 CHAPTERS.

1. If any one confess not, that Emmanuel is in truth God, and that the holy Virgin is therefore Mother of God, for she hath borne after the flesh the Word out of God made Flesh, be he anathema.

2. If any one confess not, that the Word out of God the Father hath been personally united to Flesh, and that He is One Christ with His own Flesh, the Same (that is) God alike and Man, be he anathema.

3. If any one sever the Hypostases of the One Christ after the Union, connecting them with only a connection of dignity or authority or sway, and not rather with a concurrence unto Unity of Nature, be he anathema.

4. If any one allot to two Persons or Hypostases the words in the Gospels and Apostolic writings, said either of Christ by the saints or by Him of Himself, and ascribe some to a man conceived of by himself apart from the Word That is out of God, others as God-befitting to the Word alone That is out of God the Father, be he anathema.

5. If any one dare to say, that Christ is a God-clad man, and not rather that He is God in truth as being the One Son, and That by Nature, in that *the Word hath been made Flesh*, and *hath shared like us in blood and flesh*, be he anathema.

6. If any one dare to say that the Word That is out of God the Father is God or Lord of Christ and do not rather confess that the Same is God alike and Man, in that *the Word hath been made Flesh*, according to the Scriptures, be he anathema.

7. ⁱ If any one say that Jesus hath been in-wrought-in as man by God the Word, and that the Glory of the Only-Begotten hath been put about Him, as being another than He, be he anathema.

8. If any one shall dare to say that the man that was assumed ought to be co-worshipped with God the Word and co-glorified and co-named God as one in another (for the *co-*, ever appended, compels us thus to deem) and does not rather honour Emmanuel with one worship, and send up to Him One Doxology, inasmuch as *the Word has been made Flesh*, be he anathema.

9. If any one say that the One LORD JESUS CHRIST hath been glorified by the SPIRIT, using His Power as though it were Another's, and from Him receiving the power of working against unclean spirits and of accomplishing Divine signs towards men, and does not rather say that His own is the SPIRIT, through Whom also He wrought the Divine signs, be he anathema.

10. The Divine Scripture says that Christ hath been made *the High Priest and Apostle of our Confession* and that He offered Himself for us for an odour of a sweet smell to God the Father. If any one therefore say that, not the Very Word out of God was made our High Priest and Apostle when He was made Flesh and man as we, but that man of a woman apart by himself as other than He, was [so made]: or if any one say that in His own behalf also He offered the Sacrifice and not rather for us alone (for He needed not offering Who knoweth not sin), be he anathema.

11. If any one confess not, that the Flesh of the Lord is Life-giving and that it is the own Flesh of the Word Himself That is out of God the Father, but says that it belongs to another than He, connected with Him by dignity or as

ⁱ With chapter 7 compare S. Greg. Nazianzen's very similar Anathema directed against Appollinarius' teaching, in his Letter to Cledonius.

possessed of Divine Indwelling only, and not rather that it is Life-giving (as we said) because it hath been made the own Flesh of the Word Who is mighty to quicken all things, be he anathema.

12. If any one confess not that the Word of God suffered in the Flesh and hath been crucified in the Flesh and tasted death in the Flesh and hath been made First-born of the Dead, inasmuch as He is both Life and Life-giving as God, be he anathema.

The Great Diocese of Antioch, barely rallying from its terrible devastation by Arian wickedness oppression and misbelief, had been in close quarters with Apollinarianism, a misbelief that the Only-Begotten Son took flesh only without a reasonable soul, and that His mind-less Body was somehow immingled with the Godhead. S. Athanasius and others add, among the forms of the misbelief, that some Apollinarians thought that our Lord's Body was consubstantial with His Godhead. S. Cyril in his Dialogue^k speaks of the great fear prevalent among some, that if One Incarnate Nature were holden, the Body must be believed to be consubstantial with the Godhead. Succensus, Bishop of Diocæsarea, at almost the extreme west boundary of that great Diocese or Province of Antioch, sent to S. Cyril a question to the same effect. Theodore of Mopsuestia, who had died only about two years before these Chapters were issued, had held that the Manhood of the Only-Begotten was a man distinct, having some undefined connection with God the SON, and this had appeared in his writings; and so great was Theodore's reputation and the dread of the Apollinarian heresy,

^k p. 263.

that there seems to have been an unconscious vagueness in the minds of some of the Eastern Bishops. [Nestorius had dexterously sent the Chapters to John of Antioch apart from the Epistle to himself¹, which would have made misinterpretation impossible. He sent them as ‘propositions circulated in the royal city to the injury of the common Church.’] John of Antioch, who at that time believed Nestorius to be orthodox, pronounced them at once (thus unexplained) to be Apollinarian; applied in an Encyclical letter^m to the Bishops of his Patriarchate to have them ‘disclaimed, but without naming the author,’ whom John did not believe to be S. Cyril, and asked two of the Bishops of his Province, Andrew Bishop of Samosata, and Theodoret, to reply to them. Theodoret’s reply shews that he read the Chapters with the conviction that they were Apollinarian, and he accordingly replies, not to the Chapters themselves but to the sense which he himself imagined that they contained. His reply is in the main orthodox, though it looks in one or two places as if his belief was rather vagueⁿ, but he

¹ [Had he sent the Epistle, John must have known them to have been S. Cyril’s.]

^m Synod. c. 4.

ⁿ [Passages from Theodoret’s reply to the first, second, fourth and tenth anathematism and from his letter to the monks were read in the 5th General Council before the condemnation of his writings against S. Cyril. Also from allocutions in behalf of Nestorius from Chalcedon after his condemnation at Ephesus; from a letter to Andrew of Samosata, in which he speaks of Egypt [i.e. S. Cyril and the Egyptian bishops] being ‘again mad against God,’ but owns that those of Egypt, Palestine, Pontus, Asia, and with them the West are against him, and that the greatest part of the

twists S. Cyril's words so as to mean 'mixture,' and so replies°. Theodoret seems never to have got over his misapprehension. For in his long Letter^p to the Monks of his Province, Euphratesia, Osroene, Syria, Phœnicia, Cilicia, he still speaks of Chapter 1 as teaching that God the Word was changed into flesh; of chapters 2 and 3 as bringing in the terms, Personal Union and Natural Union, "teaching through these names a mixture

world has taken the disease; a letter of sympathy with Nestorius after the reunion of the Easterns with S. Cyril, declaring that, if his two hands were cut off, he would never agree to what had been done against Nestorius, (which however he did when required by the Bishops at Chalcedon); a letter to John of Antioch still condemning the Anathematisms, although accepting the subsequent explanation. Apart from the 'atrocious letter' full of conceits which it is inconceivable how any one could have written, Mercator, a contemporary, says it was one of the charges against Archbishop Domnus, that he had been present when Theodoret preached a sermon, exulting in the peace which would ensue from S. Cyril's death. 'No one now compels to blaspheme. Where are they who say, that He Who was crucified is God?' Mercator from, *Gesta quæ contra Domnum Antioch. Ep. conscripta sunt* p. 276. ed. Garn.]

° There is extant a very careful letter of Theodoret on the Incarnation, written to Eusebius scholasticus, in which Theodoret says, "Nevertheless we do not deny the properties of the Natures, but as we deem those ungodly who divide into Two sons the One Lord Jesus Christ, so do we call them enemies of the Truth who attempt to confuse the natures: for we believe that an union without confusion has taken place and we know what are the properties of the human nature, what of the Godhead." Then after mentioning the two natures of a man which do not part him into two, "thus do we know that our Lord and God, I mean the Son of God the Lord Christ, is One Son after His Incarnation too; for the Union is inseverable even as without confusion." Ep. 21. p. 1085.

and confusion of the Divine Nature and the bond-man's form: this is the offspring of Apollinarius' heretical innovation." And after speaking of Chapter 4, he sums up, "These are the Egyptian's brood, the truly more wicked descendants of a wicked parent." In his letter^a to John Bishop of Germanicia, written after the Robbers' council in 449, Theodoret says of it, "Let them deny now the chapters which they many times condemned, but have in Ephesus now confirmed."

Andrew of Samosata, on the other hand, seems to have been decidedly more definite in his belief on the Incarnation, and to have thought that some of S. Cyril's chapters were Apollinarian without objecting to all. Thus Andrew's chief objection to chapter 1 appears to have been that he mistook the words "for she hath borne after the flesh (σαρκικῶς)" to mean that the Birth was entirely in the order of nature and so not of a Virgin^r. Andrew passes over chapter 2, as though the term, "Personal Union," had not even struck him as a difficulty. In chapter 3, Andrew thinks that φυσικῇ, *Natural Union*, or *Unity of Nature* is an inadmissible expression, as to what is above our nature. In chapter 4, Andrew thinks that because the words are not to be apportioned to distinct Persons, therefore S. Cyril meant, that they are not to be apportioned at all, either to the Godhead or to the Manhood in the One Person of the Incarnate God. S. Cyril had all his life said that they were to be so apportioned, but Andrew had of course not read S. Cyril's writings. Andrew shews his own definite

^a See bel. p. 20 n. k; p. 24 n. 9; p. 243 n. i. ^r Ep. 147.

belief by the expression ἡ ἅκρα ἔνωσις, *entire union*, here; and, ‘*WE confess the union entire (τὴν ἔνωσιν ἁκράν) and Divine and incomprehensible to us,*’ are the closing words of his reply to chapter 11. These are almost identical with S. Cyril’s expressions, “we shall not take away the unlike by nature through wholly uniting them (διὰ τὸ εἰς ἅκρον ἐνοῦν)^s,” and in his reply to Andrew, διὰ τὴν εἰς ἅκρον ἔνωσιν.

Andrew says nothing on chapters 5 and 6, nor is there anything in them which one would expect him not to accept. With chapter 7 he agrees, merely saying that in rejecting what S. Cyril rejects, we must not reject the Apostolic words which speak of Him in His human nature. With chapter 8 too Andrew agrees, but does not quite understand the *co*. In chapter 9, he overlooks the words, “as though it were Another’s:” in chapter 10, Andrew thinks that “the Very Word out of God was made our High-Priest and Apostle” means ‘the Godhead apart by Itself was so made.’

[We see in our own times, how prejudice can distort the meaning of words in themselves perfectly intelligible; else it seems inconceivable that language so clear as that of the Anathematisms, if read with a view to understand their author’s meaning, could be misunderstood as it was by John of Antioch, Theodoret, and Andrew. Much unhallowed dissension would have been saved, if John, instead of asking Theodoret and Andrew to reply to them, had sought an explanation from S. Cyril himself. S. Cyril, in clear consciousness of his own meaning, would, of course, have given

^s Hom. Pasch. vii. 102 d.

the explanation which afterwards satisfied John of Antioch, Acacius of Beroëa, and Paul of Emesa.

S. Cyril's anathematisms have been weighed by Petavius with his usual solidity, as compared with the counter-anathematisms of Nestorius, the criticisms of the Orientals and of Theodoret, and S. Cyril's answers. His summary is, 'There is nothing in S. Cyril's Anathematisms not right and in harmony with the Catholic rule, nor did those who detract from or oppose them maintain their ground against him except through cavils and foolish calumnies.' *De Incarn. L. vi. c. xvii.* They have also been carefully compared in English in Dr. Bright's *Later Treatises of S. Athanasius*, pp. 149—170.]

Though Apollinarianism in its early form, ere its great spread as Eutychianism, seems to have chiefly troubled Asia rather than Egypt, S. Cyril always writes with full knowledge of it. In his *Thesaurus*, he distinctly mentions and repudiates Apollinarian errors and denies the *οὐκ ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ γέγονε*, "made man, came not into a man like as He was in the Prophets." S. Cyril's tenth Paschal homily for A.D. 420, in its most carefully weighed language, contradicts both Apollinarianism and Nestorianism, not less than what S. Cyril wrote when the Nestorian troubles had begun. On *Habaccuc*^u S. Cyril affirms, as he does through his whole life, that our Lord was not worsened by the Incarnation; "Yet even though He has been made flesh and hath been set forth by the Father

^t *Thes. Dial. i. p. 398 c. quoted p. 192 n. i.*

^u *Hab. iii. 2, 550 d.*

as a propitiation, He hath not cast away what He was, i.e., the being God, but is even thus in God-befitting authority and glory."

In A.D. 428, Nestorius was brought from Antioch to be Archbishop of Constantinople. From the circumstance that S. Cyril's celebrated Paschal homily for the next year; A.D. 429, was on the subject of the Incarnation, it has been supposed that rumours of the denial of that Faith in Constantinople had already reached him. But the Paschal homilies for A.D. 420 and 423, shew that the Incarnation, the foundation and stay of our souls, was a subject, which S. Cyril loved to dwell on. In the course of the year 429, however, even Egypt was troubled by the false teaching of Nestorius. Some of Nestorius' sermons ^x passed into Egypt, and were read and pondered over in the Monasteries. This occasioned so much disturbance in the minds ^y of some of the Monks, that S. Cyril wrote a Letter to them, pointing out that the Incarnation means, that God the Son united to Him His own human nature which He took, as completely as soul and body are united in each of us, and in this way His Passion and Death were His own, though He, as God, could not suffer. This Letter had an extended circulation and reached Constantinople. It vexed ^z Nestorius. There was still a traditional soreness towards Alexandria, from the behaviour of Theophilus to S. Chrysostom ^a. Besides this, the

^x Ep. 1 ad Nest. Epp. 20 b. ^y Ep. 1 ad Monach. Epp. 3. a b.

^z See S. Cyril's first letter to Nestorius, Epp. pp. 19 e 20 a.

^a Nestorius alludes to this, in the sermon which he preached on the saturday after he had received S. Celestine's final Letter. Mercat. Opp. p. 76 Bal.

Catholic doctrine of the Incarnation, the manhood united by God the SON to His own self, was to Nestorius, Apollinarianism or mixture. Nestorius says so^b. In his letter to S. Celestine he tells of the ‘corruption of orthodoxy among some’ and thus describes it,

‘It is a sickness not small, but akin to the putrid sore of Apollinarius and Arius. For they mingle the Lord’s union in man to a confusion of some sort of mixture, insomuch that even certain clerks among us, of whom some from lack of understanding, some from heretical guile of old time concealed within them . . are sick as heretics, and openly blaspheme God the Word Consubstantial with the Father, as though He had taken beginning of His Being of the Virgin mother of Christ, and had been built up with His Temple and buried with His flesh, and say that the flesh after the resurrection did not remain [miscuisse seems an error for mansisse] flesh but passed into the Nature of Godhead, and they refer the Godhead of the Only-Begotten to the beginning of the flesh which was connected with It, and they put It to death with the flesh, and blasphemously say that the flesh connected with Godhead passed into Godhead, using the very word deifying, which is nothing else than to corrupt both^c.’

Nestorius repeats the same in his second letter to S. Celestine^d. S. Cyril having in his first Ecu-
menical Letter to Nestorius put forth clearly the mode of the Union in these words, Nestorius does not understand the language and says thus of it,

‘I come now to the second chapter of your Love, wherein I begin to praise the parting of the natures in regard to Godhead and Manhood and their connection into one

^b see his sermon just quoted, p. 78 Bal.

^c Conc. Eph. P. i. c. 16.

^d Ib. c. 17.

Person, and that we must not say that God the Word needed a second generation out of a woman, and must confess that the Godhead is unrecipient of suffering. For such statements are truly orthodox and counter to the ill-reputes of all the heresies, as to the Lord's natures. As to the rest, whether they bring to the ears of the readers some hidden incomprehensible wisdom, pertains to your accuracy to know; to me they seem to overturn what preceded. For Him Who in the preceding is proclaimed Impassible and non-recipient of a second birth, they introduce as somehow passible and new-created, as though the qualities by nature adherent in God the Word were corrupted by connection with the Temple &c.^e

And yet S. Cyril's language is so carefully guarded, that no one who believed in True Union of Godhead and Manhood in the Incarnate Son would mistake it.

Nestorius does not appear to have taken any notice of S. Cyril's Paschal Homily, but *he* preached against the Letter to the Monks more than once, as we see from the extracts of such of his sermons as S. Cyril had access to. The passages of the Letter to the Monks referred to by Nestorius are;

‘These letters were directed by me against the Egyptian He, omitting to tell me by letter whether any thing appeared to him to need marking as blasphemous or wicked, moved by fear of proofs and looking out therefore for disturbances which should aid him, turns him to Celestine of Rome, as one too simple to fathom the force of the doctrines. And finding the simplicity of the man in regard to this matter, he in childish fashion circumvents his ears with crafty letters, long ago sending him my writings, as a proof which might not be gainsaid, as though *I* were making Christ out to be a

^e 1b. i. 9.

^f Epist. v. in Garn. Diss. v. ap. Theodoret Opp. T. v. p. 625 ed. Schulz.

mere man, *I* who at the very beginning of my consecration obtained a Law against those who say that Christ is a mere man and against other heresies.

‘But he compiled writings, interweaving extracts of my sermons, in order that the slander put on me by the piecing of extracts might not be found out. And some things he added to my sermons, he broke off bits of others and pieced what I had said of the Lord’s Incarnation as though I had said them of a mere man. Things again which I had said in praise of the Godhead he cut entirely away from the context, leaving some out of their proper place, and thus made out a plausible misleading. And to publish his wickedness in a few instances such as it is in the rest, I said somewhere, speaking against the heathen who say that we preach that the Essence of God has been newly created from a Virgin, ‘Mary, my friends, bare not the Godhead; she bare a man the inseparable instrument of Godhead.’ But he changing the word, *Godhead*, made it, ‘Mary, my friends, bare not God.’ Here to say God, and to say the Godhead, makes very much difference. For the one signifies the Divine and unembodied Essence, but does not mean the flesh. For flesh is compound and created. But the word *God* belongs to the temple also of the Godhead, which obtains the dignity by union with the Divine Essence of God, yet is not changed into that Divine Essence.

‘Again in another place I spoke against those who, hearing the like name, are offended as though like honour were also given. And when I say, Mother of Christ, they shudder as though the Godhead of the Lord Christ were denied by this name, seeing that many have been similarly called by this name in the Old Testament. And hence they think that we are calling Him Christ like these. Against these people therefore (as I said) I said in church-sermons, that equality of honour does not follow likeness of name. And this is what I said, ‘Or if the Temple of Godhead, we say that the descent of the Holy Ghost is not the same as was wrought on

the Prophets, not the same as was celebrated on the Apostles, nor yet the same as takes place in regard to the Angels who are strengthened unto the Divine Mysteries. For the Lord Christ is Lord of all, as to the body too. As therefore we say that God is the Creator of all things, yet does the Scripture call Moses too god, for it says, *I have made thee a god to Pharoah*, and yet we by no means attach equal honour to that word, so neither, because the word is common by which we say, Christ and Son, ought we to stumble at the likeness of expression. For as Israel is named son, for He says, *Israel is My first-born son*, and the Lord again Son, for He says, *This is My Beloved Son*, yet not, as the expression is one, is the meaning also one. And as Saul is called christ and David christ and again Cyrus christ and, besides, the Babylonian, albeit they were surely not equal in piety to David; so we call the Lord too Christ or Son, yet the community of names does not makes an equality of dignity.' From this which I said, he every where subtracting the last words, i.e. 'Christ,' and, 'we say, that not the same is the indwelling as was wrought on the prophets, not the same as was wrought on the Apostles,' and, 'we by no means allot like honour by like words,' and, 'yet the community of names does not make equality of dignity;' cutting out all these expressions with the teeth of slander, he flings in the ears of men what precedes these words: i.e., 'We call the

§ The passage occurs, just as Nestorius accused S. Cyril of garbling it, in Book ii. § 4 p. 54. We do not possess the complete sermon from which this extract is taken: we do possess in Mercator's translation four sermons on the subject of the Incarnation, from the second of which S. Cyril has several extracts. In the case of this sermon the context leaves no doubt that Nestorius spoke of our Lord's manhood as a separate man, whom our Lord had indefinitely connected with Himself. This long extract of Nestorius has been given in full as matter of candour. The thing itself we have not the means of explaining. Although he makes S. Cyril's extracts from his writings the cause of S. Celestine's

Creator of all God, yet does the Scripture also call Moses god :, and, 'Israel is called God's son, Son too is the Lord called ;' and, 'Saul is called christ and David christ yea and the Babylonian; thus then do we call Christ the Lord also christ.' He therefore thus piecing these things and chipping them off from the rest (as we said), made up here by his slander like as if from Paul's words by which he contests writing, *If ye be circumcised Christ shall profit you nothing*, one were to rend off what he says first, *If ye be circumcised*, and accuse Paul as though he preached, *Christ shall profit you*

belief that his teaching was heretical. S. Celestine, in his letter to himself, says expressly, that his conviction came from his own letters.

"In your letters you have given sentence not so much in respect of our Faith as of your own self, choosing to speak of God the Word differently from what is the Faith of all." Ep. Celestin. ad Nestorium, Conc. Eph. 1. n. 18.

Again to the Clergy and people of Constantinople S. Celestine says,

"he preaches things not to be uttered, persuades things which ought to be shunned, as both his writings sent us by himself with his own signature, and also the memorial of my holy brother and co-Bishop Cyril" &c. Ib. n. 19.

and again writing to John Archbishop of Antioch S. Celestine says,

"he pours into the people most devoted to Christ certain perverse things against the reverence of the Virgin-birth and the hope of our salvation. These things have come to us from the sorrow of the faithful; these things have been published in the books himself sent, and stronger proof yet, these things have been so conveyed to us in letters fortified with the very signature of their author, that one may not any longer doubt." Ib. n. 20.

Helladius bishop of Tarsus and Eutherius Bishop of Tyana in their memorial to S. Sixtus, against S. Cyril, the Council of Ephesus, and the reconciliation thereto of John Archbishop of Antioch, mention this "garbled extract," Synodicon c. 117.

nothing. And why need we prolong our recital by going through each instance? In short Cyril using many such robberies and additions as pleased him, soon not others only but Celestine also were led away by his misleadings.

Much about this time S. Cyril probably wrote his *Scholia* on the Incarnation^h. The treatise is very simple and almost uncontroversial, illustrating the Incarnation by simple analogies and Bible-typesⁱ. It contains one of S. Cyril's most careful statements of the doctrine, excluding Apollinarianism^k. In the concluding sections^l, which may have been written at the very beginning of the controversy with Nestorius, are striking and simple statements, how God the Son's Passion is His, though God-head cannot suffer.

Soon after this S. Cyril wrote his first extant letter to Nestorius, a short letter, saying that he hears that Nestorius was very angry at S. Cyril's letter to the Monks, yet that since 'expositions,' whether Nestorius' or not, had been brought to Egypt and had gravely misled many, it became a duty to God to put forth the right doctrine. S. Cyril also says that S. Celestine and the Bishops with him had asked whether those 'expositions' which had come thither were Nestorius' or not. S. Cyril did not know. Finally, S. Cyril asked him to heal the confusion by the use of the one word *Theotocos*, of the Holy Virgin. For fear of misapprehension he mentions also a book, which he had written in the Episcopate of Atticus of blessed

^h See pp. 185—236.

ⁱ § 27, pp. 214, 215.

^k § 36 and 37.

^l pp. 228, 229 and 232, 233.

memory, on the Holy and Consubstantial Trinity, in which he had interwoven some things on the Incarnation, like what he had now written.

We do not know what time intervened between this and the second Letter which S. Cyril wrote in Synod to Nestorius, containing an exposition of the Incarnation, which, from its acceptance by the Council of Ephesus and the whole Church subsequently, has Ecumenical authority^m. It was probably written before the close of A.D. 429 and is the Letter quoted aboveⁿ, which Nestorius' reply shewed that he could not understand. It has been supposed that it was in consequence of Nestorius' allusion to the Imperial Court in the close of his reply, that S. Cyril wrote his Three Treatises *de recta fide*; whereof the first is to the Emperor Theodosius; the other two to the Emperor's Queen and Sisters. John Bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine, in the century following S. Cyril, quotes from both among his extracts in defence of the Council of Chalcedon^o. From the title with which he introduces his extracts, we learn that the longer Treatise was addressed to the Emperor's two younger sisters, the Princesses Marina and Arcadia, and the last of the Three to the Two Augusta's, Theodosius' Empress Eudocia, and his eldest sister Pulcheria who had the title of Augusta, from having been Regent for the Emperor in his minority. S. Cyril afterwards recast his Treatise to the Emperor in the form of a Dialogue, omitting what was specially addressed to the Emperor, and giving little touches here and there to the language.

^m See it in S. Cyril's 3 Epistles pp. 55. sqq Oxford, 1872.

ⁿ p. 16.

^o see p. 321.

Thus the expression “^p neither do we say Two christs, even though we believe that the Temple united to the Word has been ensouled with rational soul,” becomes in the Dialogue, “^q neither do we say Two christs, even though we believe that out of perfect man and out of God the Word has been wrought the concurrence unto unity of Emmanuel.” A little further on, “^r we say that the whole Word out of God has been co-united with the whole manhood that is of us,” becomes, “^s we say therefore that the whole Word has been united to whole man.” This Dialogue was probably appended by S. Cyril to his older Dialogues de Trinitate. It is quoted as the seventh of those Dialogues. The other two treatises are chiefly made up of expositions of texts to prove that Christ is God and Man. Near the beginning of that to the Augusta’s, S. Cyril alludes to his former treatise.

“In my treatise to the holy Virgins [i. e. the Princesses Marina and Arcadia who had embraced the virgin estate] I made a very large provision of more obvious sayings which had nothing hard to understand; but in this I have made mention of the obscurer. For your Pious Authority ought both to know these and not to be ignorant of the other, in order that by means of both, perfection in knowledge, like a light, may dwell in your most pure understanding^t”

Bishop Hefele^u thinks that there are indications that the two Princesses had, in contrast with the Emperor, spoken for Cyril and against Nestorius.

Of the five sermons of Nestorius on the Incar-

^p p. 16 b. ^q p. 690 a. ^r p. 18 d. ^s p. 692 b.

^t Opp. v. P. ii. 2. 131 a. ^u Hist. Conc. § 129 near the end.

nation which Marius Mercator translated into Latin, S. Cyril has cited copiously from the second: the fourth and fifth of Mercator's collection belong to the close of A.D. 430; for the fourth is dated the eighth of the Ides of December (Dec. 6), the Saturday after Nestorius had received S. Cyril's four Bishops with S. Celestine's Letter and S. Cyril's with the 12 Chapters. In it Nestorius recapitulates some of the teaching which S. Cyril had quoted from an earlier sermon, i.e. on God sending forth *His Son*. Of that earlier sermon we have only fragments, but it was preached against S. Cyril's letter to the Monks^x. Nestorius speaks of S. Cyril as the "wrangler^y," "the heretic^z," and he apostrophises S. Cyril or S. Proclus, "O heretic in clerical form^a."

The last of that series in Mercator's collection was preached on Sunday Dec. 7.

Count Irenæus has also preserved it; the compiler of the Synodicon gives it in another translation^b.

One of the interests and employments of the Bishops during their first days at Ephesus will have been the becoming acquainted with some whom they had never before seen. This time was probably the beginning of a lasting friendship between S. Cyril and Acacius the metropolitan of Melitene, on the borders of Armenia towards Cappadocia: the long letter which he wrote to Valerian Bishop of Iconium points at S. Cyril's having

^x See S. Cyril's books against Nestorius, pp. 20, 51, 141, 164.

^y see Ib. p. 51.

^z see p. 141.

^a see p. 164. g.

^b Synod. c. 3.

reached some degree of intimacy with him; he wrote too to Donatus, Bishop of Nicopolis, on the west of Greece, and no doubt there were other friendships too as the fruit of the long sojourn at Ephesus. Some of S. Cyril's letters shew how warm-hearted and sensitive he was, notwithstanding his mighty will and unswerving purpose.

But there were other sadder things belonging to that summer at Ephesus, sickness and death, the sickness probably the fever so prevalent now along all that poisonous coast, and passing in many cases into dysentery. We do not know what Bishops the Council lost; for our knowledge of those who composed it is derived from the lists of names at the opening of the first and sixth session and the signatures to those two sessions. But the fact is mentioned several times: S. Cyril in the first session of the Council says,

“some have fallen into sickness and some are dead;”

the Council in its *Relatio* to the Emperors, says,

“and some of the holy Bishops weighed down by age did not endure their stay in a strange place; some were imperilled in weakness; some have even undergone the close of their life in the Capital of the Ephesians;”

in its account to S. Celestine,

“although many both Bishops and Clergy were both pressed by sickness and oppressed by expense and some had even deceased.”

After waiting a fortnight, during which time, if all had been there, the business might have been completed and the Bishops dismissed, S. Cyril wrote to John Archbishop of Antioch. John, in his *Relatio* to the Emperors, says,

“and Cyril himself of Alexandria sent to me of Antioch

two days before the assembly made by them [the Council], that the whole Synod is awaiting my presence^c.”

S. Cyril too alludes to the Letter. He says of John,

“he who was ever friendly and dear, who never at any time found fault with my words, who wrote kindly and *received letters from me*^d.”

While this letter was on its way, some of the Bishops of John's party arrived, and with them a letter to S. Cyril in which John spoke of being only about four days off. The Bishops of John's party were Alexander Metropolitan of Apamea and Alexander Metropolitan of Hierapolis; and, to all appearance, though we are not told so, Theodoret and Meletius bishop of Neocæsarea. The Council, speaking of the arrival in their Relation to S. Celestine, says,

“*Nevertheless after the sixteenth day there preceded him some of the Bishops who were with him, two Metropolitans, Alexander of Apamea and another Alexander of Hierapolis; and when we complained of the tardy arrival of the most reverend Bishop John, they said not once but over and over, ‘he bid us tell your Reverence that, if he should even yet loiter, the synod was not to be put off, but rather to do what was meet.’”

S. Cyril says nearly the same in his Apology to the Emperor^e. Nevertheless it is plain that John meant the words, ‘if I yet loiter,’ to be taken in connection with his own letter to S. Cyril that he was but 5 or 6 days off, and so that he should have that interval allowed him.

The Council however, in the distress of many of

^c Ep. Conciliab. Eph. (post Conc. Eph. Act. i.) ad Imp.

^d S. Cyrilli Apol. ad Imp. p. 252 c.

* Conc. Eph. Act. v. n. 2.

^e l. c. p. 251 b c.

its members; determined to assemble the next day. Nestorius' friends headed by Tranquillinus, Bishop of Antioch in Pisidia, got up a memorial to the Council that they should wait for John of Antioch, "who is himself now at the door, as he has intimated by his Letters," and for some Western Bishops. The document further speaks of the unlawfulness of excommunicated or deposed Bishops being admitted into the Council and ends with the threatening words^f,

"And let your Reverence know, that all that shall be done in an abrupt way by daring men will be turned back against the daring of them who so presume, both by Christ the Lord and by the Divine Canons."

There follow 68 signatures, 16 of the Province of Antioch including the two newly-arrived Alexanders (an indication that they, while they delivered John's message, did not consider it as precluding four days' delay) about 30 other friends of Nestorius. They procured also about 23 other signatures. These 23 however joined the Council next day as a matter of course, and signed the deposition of Nestorius. Among the signatures is that of Euprepus Bishop of Byza who signs for himself and for his Nestorian Metropolitan Fritilas of Heraclea. But Euprepus did not remain with his Metropolitan. I do not see his name on the entry-roll of the Council at its opening session; but he signs the deposition of Nestorius. His name is among the last signatures, as though he had come in late.

No deliberative body whatever would accept such

^f Synod. c. 7.

an insulting memorial as this of the friends of Nestorius, and of course it does not appear in the Acts of the Council. Count Irenæus, the friend of Nestorius, afterwards Bishop of Tyre, has preserved it to us with other curious documents of his party.

Christian Lupus at the end of the 17th century transcribed the greater part of an unique manuscript in the Monastery Library of Monte Cassino^g. The compiler is thought to be an African; he was a contemporary of Facundus, Bishop of Hermæum, and just as Facundus wrote very eagerly in behalf of Theodore of Mopsuestia, this compiler wrote very strongly in defence of Theodoret. His principal material was a curious and extensive collection of documents and Letters made by Count Irenæus, Bishop of Tyre, after the Council of Ephesus; it contains Letters that passed between the different Bishops in the Province of Antioch about Nestorius and S. Cyril, and their views as to reconciliation with S. Cyril, and one sees how eagerly the principal Bishops got hold of a copy of any fresh letter which S. Cyril wrote. This collection alone preserves S. Cyril's great Letter to Acacius Bishop of Berœa, in reply to the first demand of the Eastern Bishops that the Nicene Creed was enough and that S. Cyril should burn all else which he had written on dogma. S. Cyril alludes to this Letter of his in his letter to his Proctors at Constantinople^h and a fragment of it is preserved

^g It forms Vol. 7 of his collected works, also published by Stephen Baluz, is incorporated into subsequent editions of the Concilia, and again with some additions and corrections, after a fresh inspection of the manuscript by Mansi.

^h Epp. Opp. v. 2. p. 152 c.

by John Archbishop of Cæsarea in Palestine in his *Thesaurus* of extracts of S. Cyril in Defence of the Council of Chalcedon, and two or three fragments of it by John's opponent, Severus of Antioch, both belonging to the earlier half of the sixth century.

Irenæus being a contemporary of the Council of Ephesus, all the letters and documents collected by him seem to have been accepted without any doubt as to their genuineness. We also possess several from other sources. But the Compiler, who made use of Count Irenæus' collection, has also inserted towards the end of his compilation, some documents from other MSS. to which he had access: one of these is absolutely worthless, viz. a confession of faith, purporting to be that of Acacius Bishop of Berœa, but evidently of later date.

Irenæus' compilation is called a Tragedyⁱ. Renaudot, in his history, has pointed out that Ebedjesu of Soba, who lived in the end of the 12th century, has mentioned the work in his catalogue of Ecclesiastical writers^k. Ebedjesu says^l, "Irenæus of Tyre compiled five *Ecclesiastica* on the persecution of Nestorius and all that happened at that time^m." Two or three pages beforeⁿ, Ebedjesu, in his catalogue of Nestorius' writings, gives also, "A Book of a Tragedy."

The little treatise or rather Confession of S. Athanasius from which S. Cyril cites in his Book against Theodore^o is put by Montfaucon, S. Athanasius' Editor, among the dubia. Montfaucon's grounds

ⁱ See the Compiler's words at the end of cap. 94, "are put in order by Irenæus in what is called his Tragedy."

^k Published by Assemani, *Bibl. Or.* t. 3. 1. pp. 4 sqq.

^l c. 25. ^m *Ib.* pp. 38, 39. ⁿ c. 20. ^o p. 341.

for doing so are twofold; 1, that the very famous expression, *One Incarnate Nature of the Word*^p, seems to contradict what S. Athanasius says in other writings; 2, that the treatise was objected to by Leontius of Byzantium, at the beginning of the seventh Century.

Of the first ground of doubt, no one but a student of S. Athanasius has any right to speak. The second dwindles to nothing.

Leontius says,

“They [the party of Severus, the great Monophysite Bishop of Antioch] put forward another passage as S. Athanasius’, from his treatise on the Incarnation. It is on this wise, ‘And that the Same is Son of God after the Spirit, Son of man after the flesh; not that the one Son is two natures, the one to be worshipped, the other not to be worshipped, but One Nature Incarnate of God the Word.’ To this we say, that first it in no wise opposes us, for neither do we hold two natures, one to be worshipped, the other not, but we hold One Nature Incarnate of God the Word. Next it is not S. Athanasius’. For when they are asked by us, where it is, and cannot easily shew it, in their perplexity they put forward some small treatise, about two leaves, in which this passage is: but it is evident to all, that all S. Athanasius’ writings are very large.

“But what can we say, when they put forward blessed Cyril, citing this against Theodore, as being S. Athanasius?’ To this we say, that it does indeed lie in the blessed Cyril’s utterings against Theodore, yet it is an old error. For Dioscorus succeeding blessed Cyril, and finding his works, would perchance not have minded

^p See on this Formula Card. Newman’s exhaustive treatise, ‘On S. Cyril’s formula of the *μία φύσις*.’ Tracts Theological and Ecclesiastical, 1874; who however says ‘whether S. Athanasius himself used it, is a contested point.’ p. 335.

adding what he pleased : we might even conjecture that the blessed Cyril did not cite it against Theodore ; and that it is so, is clear from this. For Theodoret speaking in behalf of Theodore, overturning all the passages which blessed Cyril cited against him from the holy Fathers, has no where mentioned this. To this they say that Theodoret passed it over craftily : for not able to answer it as patent, he of purpose passed it by. To this we say that so far from passing it by if it had been there, when S. Cyril said elsewhere, *One Nature Incarnate of God the Word*, if he had known that this passage had been put by blessed Cyril as cited from S. Athanasius, he would not so unlearnedly have said, ‘Who of the Fathers said, the One Nature Incarnate of God the Word?’ But they say again that he knew so certainly that it was said by S. Athanasius that he said, ‘As the Fathers have said.’ To this we say that every one is anxious to shew that the Fathers said what he says, if not word for word, yet in sense¹.”

It is clear that no serious objection could be founded on a treatise or Confession of Faith being short, and that the fact of one’s opponent passing over an objection would be no proof that the objection, which is confessedly there, was not made. The remainder of Leontius’ objection lies in the, “*perhaps* Dioscorus added something.”

This confession was very well known by S. Cyril ; for besides citing it here, he cites (as Montfaucon observes) almost the whole of it in the beginning of his Treatise de recta Fide to the Princesses Arcadia and Marina, to shew that S. Athanasius used the term, Mother of God ; S. Cyril also cited two pieces of it, to shew that in his eighth chapter in which he says, that *Emmanuel must be worshipped with one*

¹ Leontius Scholast. Byzant. de sectis, Actio 8. §§ 4, 5 in Gall. Bibl. Vett. Patr. xii. 651, 652.

worship, he had but said what S. Athanasius too had said^r. In all three citations occur the words, *One Nature Incarnate of the Word*, and in the case of S. Cyril's defence of his eighth chapter, the whole passage is extant in the latin translation (believed to be by S. Cyril's contemporary, Marius Mercator) which leaves no room for possible monophysite insertion: besides that the citation forms an integral part of S. Cyril's Defence of his chapter.

It is then proved that the words were cited as S. Athanasius' by S. Cyril, the same S. Cyril who had had his own mind moulded and taught by the writings of S. Athanasius, and who in A. D. 431, produced from the archives, probably of his own Church of S. Mark, an authentic copy of S. Athanasius' Letter to Epictetus.

If this Confession is not genuine, it is but an illustration of how, being but men, we make mistakes in what we know best.

Montfaucon sums up, "I would not venture to say whether the extracts were added in the writings of Cyril after his decease or whether before Cyril a little book of this sort was made up and ascribed to Athanasius."

[My son had had these fragments of a preface to the volume printed, before he was so suddenly called away. They seemed to me manifestly fragments of a larger whole. But there were no indications, how they were to be filled up. I have thought it might be useful to put together as a supplement, some notices of the course of the heresy of Nestorius, and of the character of S. Cyril as illustrating his controversy against him. E. B. P.]

^r Apol. adv. Orient. cap. 8 p. 178 b c d e.

THE special form of the disease, to which the name of Nestorius became attached, was hereditary in the great Province of Antioch. It is the sadder, because it came to him, lurking in the writings of men of even great name, commentators on large parts of Holy Scripture, who seem to have inherited it unawares; Diodore of Tarsus, and Theodore of Mopsuestia. Both had fallen asleep in the peace of the Church. Diodore, of the very highest reputation, had shared in the persecution of S. Meletius by the Arians; had been one of the Bishops of the Second General Council, and had helped to form the mind of S. Chrysostom^s. Theodore, in whom the heresy appears more copiously yet incidentally, had, during the thirty-eight years of his Episcopate, written against other heretics, Arians, Eunomians, Origen, Apollinarius, and was intimate with S. Chrysostom and with S. Gregory of Nazianzus. The way of truth as well as the way of life is narrow.

It appears to have been a tradition of heresy over against the tradition of faith. Of the last two stages of the heretical tradition there is no doubt. Of both it is clear from the fragments of their writings still extant. S. Cyril speaks fully as to Diodore of Tarsus^t, 'by whose books,' he says,

^s See below p. 320. n. a.

^t Ep. 1 ad Succens. p. 135. d e: see below p. 321 note. Photius saw it in various writings of his, "These were contained therein [in the codex] various essays of Diodore of Tarsus on the

‘the mind of Nestorius was darkened.’ Leontius says^u, that ‘Diodorus had been to Theodorus the author and leader and father of those evils and impieties.’ In the 9th century the Nestorians counted Diodorus, Theodorus and Nestorius their ‘three fathers.’ A Nestorian Patriarch elect promised, ‘^xthat he would adhere to the true [Nestorian] faith, and the Synods of East and West, and the three fathers, Diodorus, Theodorus, Nestorius.’ An eminent Syrian writer in the century after S. Cyril, Simeon Bishop of Beth-arsham (who had the title of honour of, ‘the Persian Preacher or Philosopher’) says, that Paul of Samosata derived his heresy through Artemon from Ebion; that Diodore derived his from Paul, and Theodore from Diodore and Paul^y. Theodore held the true faith of the Holy Trinity, which Paul did not; but the heresy on the Incarnation was in much alike.

In an Adjuration publicly put forth by the Clergy of Constantinople at the beginning of the Nestorian heresy and published in a Church, a parallel was drawn between the teaching of Nestorius and that of Paul of Samosata on the doctrine of the Incarnation. The parallel ran^z;

Paul said, ‘Mary did not bear the Word;’ Nestorius, in harmony, said, ‘Mary, my good man, did not bear the Godhead;’ [the Anathema approved by Nestorius denied

Holy Spirit, in which he too is convicted of having been sick beforehand with the disease of Nestorius.” cod. 102 p. 86. Bekk.

^u Contr. Nest. et Eutych. L. iii. de Nestorianorum impietate secreto tradita principio. Bibl. Patr. T. ix. p. 696.

^x Assem. B. O. iii. 1. p. (233 arab.) 236.

^y Assem. B. O. i. 347, 348. quoted in Card. Newman’s Arians of the 4th. Cent. p. 24. ed. 4.

^z Contestatio publice proposita &c. Conc. Eph. P. i. n. 13.

that 'Mary bare God' not 'the Godhead.'] Paul, 'For he was not before ages.' Nestorius,—'And he assigns a temporal Mother to the Godhead, the Creator of times.' Paul, 'Mary received the Word and is not older than the Word.' Nestorius, 'How then did Mary bear Him Who is older than herself?' Paul, 'Mary bore a man like unto us.' Nestorius, 'He Who was born of the Virgin is man.' Paul,—'but a man in all things superior, since He is from the Holy Ghost, and from the promises, and from the Scripture is the grace upon Him.' Nestorius said, 'It saith, "I saw the Spirit descending like a dove upon Him and abiding on Him," which bestowed upon Him the Ascension. "Commanding, it saith, the Apostles whom He had chosen He was taken up through the Holy Ghost." This then it was, which conferred on Christ such glory.' Paul said, 'that neither He Who is of David having been anointed be alien from Wisdom, nor that Wisdom should dwell in any other in like way, for it was in the Prophets and yet more in Moses and in many Saints, and yet more in Christ as in the Temple of God.' And elsewhere he says, that 'other is Jesus Christ and other the Word.' Nestorius said, 'That it was not possible that He Who was born before all ages should anew be born, and that, according to the Godhead.' See, the transgressor is made manifest, saying, that He Who was begotten of the Father was not born of Mary. See, he agrees with the heretic Paul of Samosata who says that 'Other is the Word and other Jesus Christ' and is not one, as the right Faith teaches.

The heresy stumbled at man's wonted stumbling-block, the love of God in the Incarnation, "when Thou tookest upon Thee to deliver man, Thou didst not abhor the Virgin's womb." Theodore held it to be ^amadness to say that God was born

^a c. Apollin. L. iii. in Synod. v. Coll. iv. n. 1.

of a Virgin; he held that the man who was so born was united to God only by grace^b, that he was a son only by adoption^c.

This and other false doctrines had probably escaped notice, because they were scattered up and down in controversial writings against the Apollinarians, or in interpretations of Holy Scripture. They were brought out by the vanity of Nestorius.

Born of low parentage at least^d, he had the perilous gift of great fluency of extempore preaching and ‘a very beautiful and powerful voice.’ He was moreover accounted an ascetic. S. Cyril said to the Emperor,

‘^e he was chosen as one practised in the doctrines of the Gospels and the Apostles, trained in godliness, and holding the right faith, altogether blamelessly. Your Pious Majesty longed to have such a man, and all who were set over the holy Churches, and I myself also. And indeed when the letters of the most pious Bishops about his consecration were sent round by those who advanced him thereto, I wrote back without delay, rejoicing, praising, praying that by the decree from above all choicest good should come to our brother and fellow-minister.’

S. Celestine wrote to Nestorius himself, that he had been anxious as to the Bishops successively appointed to his see,

‘^f because good is apt not to be lasting, and what joy

^b ‘Uniens eum sibi affectu voluntatis, maiorem quandam præstabat ei gratiam.’ de Incarn. L. 14. Ib. n. 54.

^c “He too, meriting adoption by grace, calls God His God, because in like way with other men he received his being.” on S. John L. 6. Ib. n. 13.

^d ἀρχογενής. S. Cyr. Hom. div. p. 383.

^e Apol. ad Theodos. Conc. Eph. P. 3. c. 13.

^f Ep. S. Celestin. ad Nest. Conc. Eph. P. i. c. 18.

he had had in the successor of the blessed John [Chrysostom], Atticus of blessed memory, the teacher of the Catholic faith; then in the holy Sisinnius, who was so soon to leave us, for his simple piety and pious simplicity; and when he was removed, the relation of the messenger who came rejoiced our soul; and this was straightway confirmed by the relation of our colleagues, who were present at thy consecration, who bare thee such testimony as was meet to one who had been elected from elsewhere [Antioch]. For thou hadst lived before with so high estimation, that another city envied thee to thy own people . . . Evil (as far as we see) has followed on thy good beginnings; beginnings, so good, so well reported of to us, that, in our answer to the relation of the brethren, we shewed how we were partakers of the joy.'

S. Celestine lingers even fondly over the reminiscence, which was such a sad contrast to the letter which he had to answer.

'Who could readily believe,' asks Vincentius of Lerins^g, 'that *he* was in error, whom he saw to have been chosen by such judgement of the Empire, the object of such estimation of the Bishops? who was so loved by the holy, in such favour with the people, who daily discoursed on the words of God, and confuted the poisonous errors of Jews and Gentiles. Whom could he not persuade that he taught aright, preached aright, held aright, who in order to make way for his own heresy persecuted the blasphemies of all [other] heresies? But to pass by Nestorius who had ever more admiration than usefulness, more fame than experience, whom human favour had made for a season great in the eyes of the people rather than Divine grace—'

The outward change was sudden, Vincentius too says,

'^g What a temptation was that lately, when this un-

^g Commonit. 1. c. 16.

happy Nestorius, *suddenly* changed from a sheep to a wolf, began to rend the flock of Christ, when they too who were torn, in great part still believed him to be a sheep, and so the more easily fell into his jaws !'

Theodoret^h, who had for so many years defended him, after he had once condemned him at Chalcedon, spoke more severely of him than any other writer. Theodoret was of an affectionate disposition. The great bane of his life was, that he would believe any evil of S. Cyril, rather than suspect his former friend Nestorius to be in the wrong. Under this prejudice, he believed S. Cyril to be an Apollinarian which he was not, rather than suspect Nestorius to be the heretic which he was. When then S. Leo espoused his cause against the worthless successor of S. Cyril, Dioscorus, and shewed at once how the two opposite heresies of Eutyches and Nestorius were equally inconsistent with Catholic truth, his eyes may have been opened, and he may have felt towards Nestorius as the occasion to him of an almost lifelong error, from which he was rescued by his own deposition and disgrace. Nestorius too had, as far as was known, died

^h Hæret. Fab. iv. 12. Leontius (A. D. 610.) quotes this work in proof how Theodoret held Nestorius in abhorrence, (against a spurious correspondence between Theodoret and Nestorius in which they were made to acknowledge each other) *de sectis*. iv. 5. Photius (cod. 56.) says of this work of Theodoret, which he had read, 'he goes down to Nestorius and his heresy, pouring upon him unmingled censure. He goes on also to the Eutychian heresy,' (the two last chapters of the ivth. book.) No one attends now to Garnier's paradox that the account of Nestorius was substituted from a younger Theodoret for the original statement of Theodoret, while the account of Eutyches connected with it is to be from Theodoret himself.

unrepentant in an heresy which denied the Incarnation. His later account of Nestorius is,

‘ⁱ From the first, Nestorius shewed what he was going to be all his life through : that he cultivated a mere popular eloquence, eliciting empty applause and attracting to himself the unstable multitude ; that he went about, clad in a mourning garment, walking heavily, avoiding public throngs, seeking by the pallor of his looks to appear ascetic, at home mostly given to books and living quietly by himself. He went on to advanced age enticing the many by such habits and counterfeits, seeking to seem to be a Christian rather than to be one, and preferring his own glory to the glory of Christ.’

The course of his heresy Theodoret describes in summary.

‘ⁱ The first step of his innovation was that we must not confess the Holy Virgin who bare the Word of God having taken flesh of her, to be Theotocos, but Christotocos only, whereas the heralds of the orthodox faith long ago (*τῶν πάλαι καὶ πρόπαλαι*) taught to call her Theotocos, and believe her the Mother of the Lord.’

Then he mentions the plea of Nestorius,

‘that the name Christ signifies the two Natures, the Godhead and Manhood of the Only-Begotten, but that of God absolutely the simple and incorporeal essence of God the Word ; and that of man the human nature alone ; therefore it is necessary to confess the Virgin to be Christotocos and not Theotocos, lest unawares we say that God the Word took the beginning of His Being from the holy Virgin, and so should be obliged consistently to confess that the Mother was older than He Who was born of her.’

Lastly he mentions the preaching of Nestorius,

ⁱ Hæret. Fab. iv. 12.

that in the Church of the orthodox he shouted out many such words as 'Mary, my good man, did not bear God; she bore a man the instrument of God;' 'and again among other follies,' 'The Gentile is blameless, when he gives a mother to the gods.'

Such is the outline of his teaching at Constantinople. His efforts were concentrated on the substitution of Christotocos for Theotocos; for 'God made Man,' a human Christ connected with God, corrupting by flippant sayings the minds which he could influence.

He gained favour with Theodosius who leaned on those around him. His elevation to the Patriarchate was a marked distinction, as being a call from a different Patriarchate, at the nomination of the Emperor Theodosius, and the people received him with joy. He seemed to himself called to great things. 'He had not,' Socrates says^k, 'tasted, according to the proverb, the waters of the city,' when in an inaugural oration before the Emperor and a large concourse of people, he apostrophised the Emperor, "Give me, O king, the land clear from heretics and I in turn will give thee heaven. Destroy the heretics with me, and I will destroy the Persians with thee." He must have meant, of course, that he could promise victory over the Persians in the name of God. Men noticed, we are told^k, the vanity and passionateness and vain-glory of the speech. It was, at the least, a calling in of the civil sword against those, of whom he himself knew nothing, and for whose conversion

^k Socr. vii. 29.

his predecessors had waited patiently, and promising victory over a warlike people, not upon self-humiliation before God, but upon the extirpation of men who had not the same errors with himself. An Arian congregation, seeing their church destroyed, in desperation fired it and threw themselves into the flames. This gained to Nestorius, with all the faithful as well as heretics, the title of ‘the Incendiary.’ The persecution occasioned much bloodshed at Miletus and Sardis. The Emperor had to repress his violence against the Novatians. The Macedonians¹ and the Quartodecimans in Asia, Lydia, Caria, were also persecuted. He had conferred with Theodore of Mopsuestia in his way from Antioch to his See; so that it was even thought that he had imbibed his heresy then^m. Those whom he brought with him were of the same schoolⁿ.

He began at first warily. He used ambiguous language, but all directed against the one crucial term Theotocos. Unless the blessed Virgin ‘bare God,’ i. e. Him Who was at once both God and Man, our Lord plainly would not have been God. And therewith would have perished the doctrine of the Atonement too, which also Nestorius did not believe. For a “brother cannot redeem a man; he cannot give to God ° a ransom for him. Too dear is the redemption of their souls, and it ceaseth for ever.”

He used what terms he could, to eke out the poverty of his conception. He could think of our

¹ Ib. 31.

^m Evagrius says this on the authority of Theodulus [a presbyter of Cœlesyria about A.D. 480.] i. 2.

ⁿ S. Cyril Ep. 9 ad S. Celestin. p. 37. ° Ps. xlix. 7, 8.

Lord as a man, an instrument of Deity;’ ‘^pa temple created of the Virgin for God the Word to inhabit,’ and having a close or continual or the highest connection with God; but still the ‘connection’ was different in degree, not in kind, from that with any Saint.

The hereditary title of the Mother of the Lord, which even Theodoret, when his strife with S. Cyril was over, recognised as ‘^qthe Apostolical tradition,’ excluded this humanising of our Lord. And so Nestorius (a grave historian says’) continuously teaching hereon in the Church, endeavoured in all ways to expel the term Theotocos, and dreaded the term as they do hobgoblins^s. This he did, Socrates adds, ‘out of great ignorance.’

‘Being by nature fluent of speech, he was thought to have been educated; but in truth, he was ill-trained, and disdained to learn the books of the ancient interpreters. For being puffed up for his fluency of speech, he did not attend accurately to the ancients, but thought himself superior to all.’

Yet the term Theotocos had been in such familiar use by every school for nearly two centuries, that the aversion of Nestorius to it can hardly have been simple ignorance. It was probably the instinctive aversion of heresy to the term which condemns it. Socrates himself mentions that it was used by Origen and Eusebius: it was used alike by Alexander, the predecessor of S. Athanasius^t, whose Council first condemned Arius; by

^p Expressions of Nestorius, while denying the Theotocos. Sermon. 1. ap. Mercator.

^q Theod. Hæret. Fab. iv. 12. ^r Socr. H. E. vii. 32.

^s τὰ μορμολύκια. ^t Ep. ad Alex. in Theod. H. E. i. 3.

S. Athanasius himself ^u; by the Arian Eusebius ^x; and by S. Cyril of Jerusalem ^y, who did not use the word Homooousion. The Apostate Emperor Julian said, in controversy with the Christians, ‘^z Did Isaiah say that a Virgin should bear God? but ye do not cease calling Mary Theotocos,’ attesting that the word was in the mouths of all Christians. A little later it was used by the two S. Gregories ^a. It was used also by the great predecessor of Nestorius in the see of Constantinople, S. Chrysostom, as also by Ammon Bishop of Adrianople in Egypt, and by Antiochus Bishop of Ptolemais in Phœnicia ^b. The corresponding title, Mater Dei, was used in the Latin Church by S. Ambrose ^c, Cassian ^d, and Vincent of Lerins ^e.

John of Antioch, at a later period, entreating Nestorius to accept the term, in order to prevent the impending schism, said to him,

‘This name no one of the ecclesiastical teachers has declined. For those who have used it have been many and eminent, and those who have not used it have never imputed any error to those who used it.’

^u Against Arians Orat. iii. n. 14, 29, 30. Orat. iv. 32. Incarn. c. Ar. 8, 22. quoted in Newman’s S. Athanasius ag. the Arians. Disc. iii. 25. 8. p. 420. n. 1. Oxf. Tr.

^x Vit. Const. iii. 43. in Ps. 109, 4 p. 703. Montf. Nov. Coll.

^y Catech. x. 19.

^z in S. Cyril c. Jul. L. 8. p. 262.

^a S. Greg. Nyss. Ep. ad Eustath. p. 1093. S. Greg. Naz. Orat. 29, 4. Ep. 101. p. 85. Ben.

^b both quoted by S. Cyril de recta fide 49, 50.

^c de Virg. ii. 7.

^d de Incarn. ii. 5. vii. 25.

^e Common. ii. 21. The above are all quoted in Newman’s notes on S. Athanasius against the Arians Disc. iii. 26. nn. u and x. Dr. Bright adds Tertullian, de patientia n. 3, ‘Nasci se *Deus* in utero patitur *Matris*,’ and S. Irenæus, ‘ut portaret Deum,’ v. 19. See further Dr. Bright’s History of the Church p. 312. ed. 3.

John endeavoured to smoothe to him the adoption of the word.

‘^fThe ten days, which Celestine allowed, are very short, but it might be made matter of a single day, perhaps only of a few hours. For to use a convenient word in the dispensation of our Sovereign Ruler Christ for us, which has been used by many of the fathers, and is true as to the saving Birth of the Virgin, is easy; which thy holiness ought not to decline, nor take that into account, that one ought not to do things contrary. For if thy mind is the same as that of the fathers and teachers of the Church (for this, my lord, I have heard from many common friends), what grief has it, to utter a pious thought in a corresponding word?’

Nestorius seems to have thought it to have been his office to convert the Church to his misbelief. He says,

‘^g I see in our people much reverence and most fervent piety, but that they are blinded as to the dogma of the knowledge of God. But this is not the fault of the people, but (how shall I say it courteously?) that the teachers had not opportunity to set before you aught of the more accurate teaching.’

This was strong language, that the people of Constantinople were in error as to the faith through the fault of its former Bishops; but he also owned thereby, that his faith was different from theirs. ‘Art thou then,’ Cassian^h apostrophises him, ‘the amender of former Bishops, the condemner of former Priests? art thou more excellent than Gregory, more approved than Nectarius, surpassing John?’

^f Joh. Ant. ad Nest. Conc. Eph. P. 1. c. 25.

^g Serm. 2 in Marius Mercator ii. 9. ed. Garn.

^h de Incarn. vii. 30.

Nestorius seems to have chosen for himself the office of arbiter between ideal parties. In his third Epistle to S. Celestine he says,

‘ⁱ It is known to your Blessedness, that if two sects stand over against one another, and one of them only uses the word Theotocos, and the other only Anthropotocos, and each sect draws the other to its own confession, so that, if it do not obtain this, there is peril lest it fall from the Church, it will be necessary, that one deputed to the consideration of this matter, having care for each sect, should remedy the peril of either party, by a word delivered by the Evangelist which signifies both natures. For that word, Christotocos, tempers the assertion of both, because it both removes the blasphemy of the Samosatene which is spoken of Christ, the Lord of all, as if He were a pure man, and also puts to flight the malice of Arius and Apollinarius.’

It is strange that he did not see (if indeed he did not see what every one else saw), that Christotocos, as opposed to Theotocos, could only mean ‘mother of the Messiah,’ i. e. mother of Him who should be the Messiah. Vincent of Lerins uses the homely illustration,

‘^j as we speak of the mother of a Presbyter or a Bishop, not that she bare one who was already a Presbyter or a Bishop, but a man who was afterwards made a Presbyter or Bishop.’

S. John Damascene says,

‘^k We do not call the holy Virgin Christotocos, because Nestorius invented it to deny the word Theotocos.’

The name ‘Anthropotocos’ must have been a fiction of his own, in order to make room for his

ⁱ in Mercat. pp. 80, 81. ^j quoted by Pet. de Incarn. v. 15.

^k Damasc. de fide Chr. vii. 12.

own term Christotocos, as an intermediate term. No one would give the name as a descriptive name, however they may have held our Lord to be a mere man; and Nestorius speaks of those, who called the Blessed Virgin Anthropotocos, as *in* the Church.

However, in his own Patriarchate, for three years Nestorius had his own way. S. Cyril names that period in his full letter of explanation to Acacius of Berœa, who must have been cognizant of the accuracy of the statement.

‘¹ But when we all waited for Nestorius, while he spent a period of three years in blaspheming, and we and your holiness and the whole Council with us tried to bring him back from them, and to those doctrines which appertain to rightness and truth.’

Peter, the notary, rehearsed the same in the first session of the Council. ‘^m Not many days having elapsed’ [after his consecration].

S. Cyril in his letter to S. Celestine says,

‘ⁿ During the past I have kept silence and have written absolutely nothing either to your Religiousness, or any of our Fellow-ministers, about him who is now at Constantinople and ruleth the Church, believing that hastiness in these things is not without blame.’

Within Constantinople, Nestorius, twice apparently, gave occasion to a great expression of popular feeling by utterances which he sanctioned, absolutely denying the doctrine of the Incarnation. The first was by Anastasius, a priest ° whom he had brought from Antioch, whom ‘he held in great honour, and employed as a counsellor; a fiery

¹ Synod. n. 56.

^m Conc. Eph. Act. i. init.

ⁿ Ep. 9. ad Celestin. p. 36.

° Socr. vii. 32.

lover of Nestorius and his Jewish dogmas.' He burst out in a sermon openly, 'let no one call Mary *theotocos*: for Mary was human; but it is impossible that one human should bear God.' This the people could ill-endure. Nestorius supported it with vehemence.

The other statement which reached S. Cyril, and which he mentioned to some at Constantinople, who blamed him for his letter to the monks^q, was by Dorotheus Bishop of Marcianopolis, who said openly, 'Anathema, if any call the holy Mary, Theotocos.'

This went much further than the former. It pronounced Anathema (as S. Cyril saw) upon all who held what all held and expressed, upon the whole Catholic Church. Nestorius at once received him to Communion.

Nestorius supported the denial of the Theotocos. In his first Sermon he says, that he had been asked whether the Blessed Virgin was to be called 'Anthropotocos or Theotocos.' He appealed to his hearers,

'Has God a mother? Then heathendom may be excused, bringing in mothers to its gods. Then Paul is a liar, who saith of the Deity of Christ, 'without father, without mother, without descent.' Mary bore not God, my good friends. For that which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit. The creature bare not the Uncreated: the Father did not beget God the Word. For 'in the beginning was the Word,' as John saith. The creature did not bear the Creator, but she bare a Man, the instrument of Deity: the Holy Spirit did not create God the Word; for that

^p Evagr. i. 2.

^q Ep. 6. p. 30.

^r Nest. Sermon. i. in Merc, p. 5.

which was born of her was of the Holy Spirit; but He framed of the Virgin for God the Word a temple wherein He should dwell.'

Nestorius continued to preach the same, sometimes in terms, in themselves sound, but in the context of what is unsound.

From his position as Patriarch in New Rome, the residence of the Emperor, or his personal influence with Theodosius, he could overbear most opposition. What opposition there was came, it had been observed, first from the Laity, then from the Clergy, lastly from the Bishops.

Nestorius, in his first epistle to S. Celestine, told him that he had daily used both 'anger and gentleness' in repressing the Theotocos. His idea of 'anger and gentleness' may be gathered from a formal petition to the Emperors from Basil, a deacon and Archimandrite, and Thalassius a reader and monk, in their petition to the Emperors.

In the words of this petition,

'^s By his command and invitation, we went to the See-house, to be fully instructed whether what we had heard concerning him is true. He put us off a second and a third time, and then scarcely bade us say what we wished. But when he had heard from us, that what he had said, that 'Mary only bore a man consubstantial with herself,' and 'what is born of the flesh is flesh,' is not orthodox language, immediately he had us seized, and thence, beaten by the crowd of the officers, we were led to the prison, and there they stripped us naked as prisoners and subject to punishment, bound us to pillars, threw us down and kicked us. What in the civil courts we do not say that Clerks, Archimandrites, or monks, nay, or any secular persons do not suffer, we endured

^s Conc. Eph. P. i. n. 30.

in the Church lawlessly from the lawless ones. Oppressed, famished, we remained a long time under guard, and his mania was not satisfied with this, but after all this, by some deceit we were delivered over to the most Excellent Eparch of this renowned city, and loaded with irons we were led back to the prison, and afterwards were brought up in the Prætorium in the same way with chains, and since there was no accuser, we were again led back by the guard in the prison and thus he again chastised us smiting us on the face, and having discoursed and agreed deceitfully (as appeared from what followed) about Him Who is by nature Son of God, that He was born of the holy Mary the Theotocos, since there is another Son; so he dismissed us.'

Basil who relates this, says also,

'Some of the most reverend Presbyters frequently rebuked to the face him who is now entrusted with the Episcopate (if he should be called a Bishop) and, because of his self-will that he will not call the Holy Virgin Theotocos, or Christ by nature true God, have put themselves out of his communion, and so still remain; others do so secretly; others, because they spoke in this holy Church Eirene-by-the-sea against the ill-renewal of this dogma, have been silenced. On this the people, desiring to have the wonted sound teaching, cried out, 'A King we have; a Bishop we have not.' But this essay of the people did not remain unavenged; some were seized by the attendants, and beaten in divers ways in the royal city, as is not practised even among the Barbarians. Some contradicted him publicly to the face in the Church and underwent no little trouble. A monk of the simpler sort was constrained by zeal in the midst of the Church to hinder this herald of impiety from entering in at the Celebration, being a heretic. Him having beaten, he delivered to

the Magnificent Governors and being again beaten and paraded publicly, the crier proclaiming (his offence), he [Nestorius] sent him into exile. And not this only, but even in the most holy Church after his impious homily, those on his side who held down every thing, would have shed blood, had not the aid of God prevented it.'

They conclude by asking the Emperor to convene a General Council, 'not, God knows, to avenge our wrongs,' but 'to unite the most holy Church, restore the priests of the true faith, before the untrue teaching spread abroad.'

They speak of Nestorius as

'intimidating, threatening, driving, expelling, maltreating, acting recklessly and ill, and doing all unsparingly to establish his own mania and ungodliness, neither fearing God, nor ashamed before men, but clothed with contempt of all, confident in his wrath and in the might of some who have been corrupted, and (to speak fearlessly) in your Majesty.'

It is strong language, but language, the more responsible, as formally addressed to one who held absolute power, who used it as no modern Sovereign could, and who was known to favour the Patriarch, against whom it was directed.

Nestorius boasted to S. Celestine of his success against those who had departed from him.

"Moreover they have dared to call the Virgin who bare Christ (Christotocos) in a certain way Theotocos. For they do not shudder at calling her Theotocos, although those holy fathers above all praise at Nice are read to have said nothing more as to the holy Virgin than that our Lord Jesus Christ was incarnate of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary. I do not speak of the Holy Scriptures, which every where, both by Angels and Apostles,

^u Ep. 1. ad Celestin. Conc. Eph. p. i. c. 16.

set forth the Virgin as the mother of Christ, not of God the Word. For which things' sake what strifes we have endured, I suppose that report has, before this, instructed your Blessedness; observing this also, that we have not striven in vain, but by the grace of the Lord, many of those who were departing from us have been amended.'

To S. Cyril he says,

'^v Know that those hast been deceived by the Clerks of thine own persuasion, who have been deprived here by the holy Synod, because they were minded as the Manichees.'

S. Cyril in the Synodal letter^x from Alexandria, announcing his impending excommunication, mentions those whom Nestorius had excommunicated or degraded, as he had 'indicated to Celestine the most holy Bishop of Great Rome and our fellow-bishop.' S. Celestine also requires as a condition of Communion that he should '^y restore to the Church all excluded for the sake of Christ its Head.' In his letter to John of Antioch he supposes that this may have been done by others also.

Within Constantinople Nestorius was opposed by those whose position secured them from his aggression: by S. Proclus, appointed Bishop of Cyzicus, whom the Cyzicans declined, wishing to appoint their own Bishop, and who remained a Bishop without a see; and by Eusebius of Dorylæum, who

'^z being of great piety and skill among the laymen, having gathered within himself no mean learning, was moved with fervent and devout zeal, and said with

^v ad S. Cyril. Ep. 5. p. 29.

^x Conc. Eph. P. i. n. 26. ^y Ep. ad Nest. fin.

^z See below ad Nest. i. 6. pp. 25, 26.

piercing cry, that the Word Himself Who is before the ages endured a second Generation by that after the flesh and from a woman.'

Nestorius answered him by speaking of the 'pollution' of these wretches and saying, "that if there were two births, there must be two sons," i. e. that our 'one Lord Jesus Christ' 'could not be Begotten of the Father before all worlds' and yet 'for us men and for our salvation' be born of the Virgin Mary.

Leontius^a says that Eusebius was also said to be the author of the parallel between Paul of Samosata and Nestorius.

Different accounts are given of the way in which the minds of the people were affected. S. Cyril says that on the Anathema pronounced by Dorotheus,

'^b There was a great cry from all the people, and a running out [of the Church.] For they would not communicate with those so minded. And now too the people of Constantinople remain out of communion, except some of the lighter sort and his flatterers. But nearly all the monasteries and their Archimandrites and many of the senate do not communicate: fearing lest they should be wronged as to his faith and that of those with him, whom he brought when he came up from Antioch, who all speak perverse things.'

Nestorius, on the other hand, boasts at the close of his answer to S. Cyril's second letter^c,

'Church matters with us advance daily, and the people through the grace of God so grow, that those who see their multitude, cry out with the prophet, that the earth is filled with the knowledge of the Lord, as much

^a Cont. Nest. et Eutyech. L. iii. He says 'ut aiunt.'

^b Ep. ad Cclest. Conc. Eph. P. 1. n. 16. ^c Conc. Eph. P. 1. n. 9.

water covereth the sea, and the Emperors are in exceeding joy, being enlightened as to the doctrine; and, to speak briefly, one may see daily, as to all the heresies which fight with God and the orthodoxy of the Church, that word is daily fulfilled with us, the house of Saul waxed weaker and weaker, and the house of David waxed stronger and stronger.’

It is not much that the Emperor told S. Cyril^d, that the Churches were united and would be yet more, and that he [S. Cyril] was forgiven; (for Nestorius had persuaded him that S. Cyril was a mere disturber of the peace) or that Nestorius on one occasion speaks of the people being thronged^e. But some were even ready to turn against those who objected to his teaching^f, and ‘many Clergy and laymen from Constantinople coming to Antioch and Berœa agreed with the saying of Dorotheus, as having nothing contrary to Apostolic doctrine or the faith of Nicæa^g.’

In these three years, S. Cyril had only broken silence three times; once in his letter to the monks in Egypt; a letter to Nestorius, explaining the occasion of that letter when he heard that Nestorius was offended by it; and the second full statement of doctrine in the Epistle, which was received by the Council of Ephesus.

i. The first was his ‘letter to the Monks of Egypt.’ Grave perplexity had been occasioned to some of them, even as to the Divinity of our Lord, through some writings attributed to Nestorius. S. Cyril

^d Sac. Theod. ad Cyril. Conc. Eph. P. i. n. 31.

^e constipatione laboratis. Nest. Serm. 13. p. 93. Garn.

^f Merc. Nest. Blasph. Capit. xii. p. 117. Garn.

^g Ep. Acac. Ber. Cyrillo Conc. Eph. P. i. n. 23.

answered them, but without any mention of Nestorius. He himself gives the account of his writing,

‘^h When his [Nestorius’] homilies were brought to Egypt, I learnt that some of the lighter sort were carried away, and said doubtingly among themselves, ‘does he say right?’ ‘Is he in error?’ Fearing lest the disease should root in the minds of the simple, I wrote a general Epistle to the monasteries of Egypt, confirming them to the right faith.’

No Bishop, competent for his office, could have done otherwise than set himself to remove those perplexities in the minds of the people committed to his charge. Others circulated what he had written, in Constantinople. S. Cyril continues his account,

‘Some took copies to Constantinople. And those who read them were much benefited, so that very many of those in office wrote, thanking me. But that too was fresh nutriment of displeasure against me, and he [Nestorius] contended against me as an enemy, having no other ground of censure than that I cannot think as he does.’

ii. iii. S. Cyril’s two Epistles to Nestorius (previous to the sentence of condemnation which he was commissioned to announce, unless Nestorius should retract) were letters of explanation.

The first was to remove the offence, which Nestorius had taken at ‘the letter to the monks.’ It runs;

‘ⁱ Persons deserving of all credit have come to Alexandria and have informed me that thy Piety is exceeding angry, and setting every thing in motion to grieve me.

^h Ep. ad Celest.

ⁱ S. Cyr. Ep. 2. See an abstract of it, ab. p. xxv.

And when I would learn the cause of the grief of thy Piety, they said that some from Alexandria were circulating the letter written to the holy Monks, and that this was the occasion of the hatred and displeasure. I wondered then, that thy Piety did not rather think with Itself, that the disturbance as to the faith did not originate with my letter, but with some, whether written by thy Piety or no, but any how papers or exegeses which were circulated. We then toiled, wishing to restore those misled. For some would hardly admit that Christ is God; but that He was rather an organ or instrument of the Deity and a God-bearing man, and things even beyond this. I had then reason to complain of the things, which thy Piety did or did not write. (For I do not much trust the papers which are carried about.) How then should I be silent, when faith is so injured and so many are perverted? Shall we not be placed before the Judgement-seat of Christ? Shall we not give account for the unseasonable silence, having been appointed by Him to say what is meet? What shall I do now? For I must consult with thy Piety. And that, when the most religious and God-beloved Bishop of the Roman Church, and the God-beloved Bishops with him, report about the papers brought thither, I know not how, whether by thy Piety or no. For they write, as exceedingly scandalized. And how shall we soothe those who come from the East from all the Churches, and murmur against the papers? Or does thy Piety think, that only a little disturbance has sprung up in the Churches from such homilies? We are all struggling and toiling, bringing back those who are somehow mispersuaded to think otherwise. When then it is thy Piety, who made all of necessity murmur, how does It justly find fault? Why does It cry out against me, and that to no purpose, and does not rather correct Its own speech, to stop this world-wide scandal? For though the speech is past, yet as being diffused among the people, let it be set straight by revision, and do thou vouchsafe to concede

one word to those who are offended, by calling the holy Virgin Theotocos, that soothing those who have been grieved, and having a right repute among all, we may celebrate the Communion amid the peace and harmony of the peoples. But let not thy Piety doubt, that we are ready to endure all things for the Faith in Christ and to undergo imprisonments and death itself. But I say the truth, that even while Atticus of blessed memory still survived, I composed a book on the Holy and Consubstantial Trinity, in which I wrote also about the Incarnation of the Only-Begotten agreeably to what I have now written, and I read it to Bishops and Clerks and those of the laity who were fond of hearing, but I have not given it out hitherto to any one. If then it should be published, it is probable that I may again be blamed, whereas the little tract was composed even before the consecration of thy Piety.'

It was, of course, an unpleasant office to write to a Patriarch, in high favour with the Sovereign of both, who had no slight opinion of himself and of his writings, and was very angry with S. Cyril himself for writing against them, to tell him that he was in fact himself in the wrong; that he, S. Cyril, could not have done otherwise than he did, having before him the judgement-seat of Christ, and that Nestorius had to undo what he had done, which had set East and West against him. They were not smooth things to write; but I do not know how they could have been conveyed more smoothly. S. Cyril assures Nestorius, that there was nothing personal in what he had written, for he did not even know certainly, whose writings he was answering, but that they were conveying wrong doctrine among those with whom S. Cyril was put in trust; wrong doctrine, which Nestorius

would not go along with; that he [S. Cyril] had had no part in the circulation of what he had written in Constantinople; that he had written the like many years before, and that this too might become a fresh subject of incrimination, if it should be published, whereas from its date it could have no bearing on Nestorius. One only request he makes him, the same, which John of Antioch the friend of Nestorius also made, by acceding to which he might have escaped his own evil memory and being the author of the miserable rent in the body of Christ, that he would vouchsafe to concede one word, Theotocos. But it would have been to give up his heresy.

The Presbyter Lampon who took S. Cyril's letter, could only obtain from Nestorius the following haughty answer, in which he avoided every topic of the letter of S. Cyril.

‘^kNothing is mightier than Christian equity. We have then been constrained thereby to the present letter through the most religious presbyter Lampon, who said many things about thy Piety to us, and heard also much, and at last did not give way to us, until he wrung the letter from us, and we have been conquered by the man's importunity. For I own that I have great awe of all Christian goodness of every man, as having God residing in him. We then, although many things have been done by your Religiousness (to speak mildly) not according to brotherly love, continue in long-suffering and the friendly intercourse of letters. But experience will shew, what is the fruit of the constraint of the most religious Presbyter Lampon. I and those with me salute all the brotherhood together with thee.’

^k ap. S. Cyr. Ep. 3.

The answer of Nestorius was in fact an apology to himself for vouchsafing to write to S. Cyril.

The second Epistle of S. Cyril is also Apologetic,

‘¹in answer to some who are babbling to thy Piety against my reputation and that incessantly, watching, above all, the seasons of the meetings of those in power.’

The Epistle is throughout doctrinal. But there is not the slightest controversy with Nestorius, except in the appeal at the end that he would think and teach these things. It is only a careful statement of the doctrine of the Incarnation, expressly excluding what Nestorius called Apollinarian.

The answer of Nestorius^m is in a tone of ironical condescension. He professes to pass by ‘the contumelies of thy wondrous letters, as needing a medicinal long-suffering;’ ‘the all-wise words of thy Love;’ advises him to attend to doctrine, i. e. not as he had, reading superficially the tradition of the all-holy fathers [the Nicene Creed] to shew an ignorance, which needed forgiveness; treated his letter as self-contradictory and ended in a tone of triumph. Further correspondence was of course useless. Indeed, the quotation from S. Paul seems intended by Nestorius to close the subject.

‘These are the counsels from us, as from a brother to a brother. But if any one seem to be contentious, to such an one Paul will cry out through us also, We have no such custom, neither the Church of God.’

It may be that S. Cyril’s letters to the Imperial family may have been occasioned by the statement which Nestorius gives of the joy of the Sovereign on being enlightened as to the dogma. But al-

¹ Ep. 4.

^m Ib. Ep. 5.

though he states the fact clearly to them, he neither mentions Nestorius, nor quotes any known saying of his.

He himself waited. He had learned probably from his fiery adhesion to his uncle and early benefactor, Theophilus, and its injustice to the memory of S. Chrysostom. He says to those who reproached him for his letter to the monks of Egypt, that he might have returned anathema for anathema,

‘ⁿSince we who are yet living, and the Bishops throughout the world, and our fathers who have departed to God have been anathematised. For what hindered me too from writing the converse of his words, ‘If any one say not that Mary is Theotocos, be he anathema?’ But I have not done this hitherto for his sake, lest any should say, that the Bishop of Alexandria, i. e. the Egyptian Synod, has anathematised him. But if the most religious Bishops in East and West shall learn, that all have been anathematised, (for all say and confess that the holy Mary is Theotocos) how will they be disposed? How will they not be grieved, if not for themselves, yet for the holy fathers, in whose writings we find the holy Virgin Mary named Theotocos? If I did not think it would be burdensome, I would send many books of the holy Fathers, in which you may find not once but many times this word used, whereby they confess that the holy Virgin Mary is Theotocos.’

When at last he wrote to ask the advice of S. Celestine°, he says.

‘During the time past I have been silent and have written absolutely nothing concerning him who is now at Constantinople and rules the Church, either to your Piety or to any other of our fellow-ministers, believing that precipitancy in these things is not without blame.’

ⁿ Ep. 6. p. 30.

° ad Celestin. Ep. 9. p. 36.

Yet the confusion was already not slight. S. Cyril says to a friend of Nestorius ;

‘^pThere is no one from any city or country, who does not say that these things are in every one’s mouth, and, what new learning is being brought into the Churches ?’

To Nestorius himself he said, ‘^qthe books of your exegeses are circulated every where.’

Vanity probably precipitated the condemnation of Nestorius. He had a low estimate of the abilities of S. Celestine.

‘^rThe Egyptian [S. Cyril] terrified,’ he says, ‘by the dread of being convicted, and seeking for some trouble to stand him in stead, betakes himself to Celestine of Rome, as one too simple to penetrate the force of dogmas. Finding moreover the simplicity of that man, he childishly circumvents his ears with the illusions of letters.’

It did not occur to Nestorius that Divine truth is seen by simple piety, not by proud intellect. He was not aware also, that S. Celestine had a deacon who, like S. Athanasius when a deacon at Nicæa, possessed that intuitive perception of truth which was afterwards to be developed on these very subjects ; him, who became S. Leo the Great, who entrusted the letters of Nestorius to be translated and refuted by Cassian^s.

To this S. Celestine, of whom he thought so lightly, Nestorius wrote two letters^t, ostensibly to consult him about Julian and other Pelagians, but in reality to propound his own heresy in as plausi-

^p ad quend. Nestorii studiosum Ep. 7. p. 31.

^q Ep. 3 ad Nest.

^r Synod. c. 6.

^s de Christi Incarnatione adv. Nestorium. Libb. 7.

^t Ep. ad Celestin. Conc. Eph. P. 1. nn. 16, 17.

ble a manner as he could. He began by laying down,

‘We owe to each other brotherly conference, as having to fight in harmony together against the devil, the enemy of peace. To what end this preface?’

Julian and others, alleging that they were Bishops of the West, complained both to the Emperor and to him, that they were persecuted being orthodox; so he, being in ignorance of the merits of the case, asked S. Celestine to inform him. ‘For a new sect claims great watchfulness from true pastors.’

In the second letter, he says that he had ‘often’ written about these Pelagian Bishops. He himself might have known (S. Celestine reminds him) since Atticus his predecessor had written to S. Celestine, what he had done in their matter. In both letters, he speaks of his efforts against ‘something akin to Apollinarianism:’ in his second, that he is at much pains to ‘extirpate’ it. S. Cyril, in his letter to Juvenal^u, says that Nestorius wrote this letter to the Church of the Romans, hoping to carry it away with him.

By these letters to S. Celestine, he was himself the occasion of a letter, in which S. Cyril at last consulted him about the matter of Nestorius, being shewn to S. Celestine. For S. Cyril had given instructions to his Deacon Posidonius^x, ‘if he should find the books of his [Nestorius] exegeses and his letters delivered to him [S. Celestine], deliver my letters also; if not, bring them here [to S. Cyril] undelivered. He then, finding the exegeses and

^u Conc. Eph. P. i. n. 24.

^x Conc. Eph. Act. i. init.

the letters delivered, had himself also to deliver them.'

A synod then was held at Rome, in which, after many sessions^y, the Bishops declared him to have devised a new very grievous heresy, and condemned him.

A fragment of a speech of S. Celestine is preserved^z, in which he cited the authorities of S. Ambrose in his *Veni redemptor gentium*, S. Hilary and S. Damasus. S. Celestine announced to Nestorius the result;

'Unless you teach as to Christ our God the same which the Church of the Romans and the Alexandrians and the holy Church in great Constantinople held excellently well till you, and, within the tenth day counted from the day of this admonition, annul by an open confession in writing that faithless novelty which undertakes to sever what holy Scripture unites, thou art cast out of all communion with the Catholic Church.'

S. Celestine wrote the same to John of Antioch^a. This judgement he had entrusted to S. Cyril, holding his place. S. Cyril wrote what had passed and the condemnation of Nestorius by the Roman Synod to John of Antioch^b, telling him, that the Council had written the like to 'Rufus Bishop of Thessalonica, and other Bishops of Macedonia, who always agree with them,' and to Juvenal Bishop of Ælia; that he himself should follow their decision, and asking him to consider what to do to hinder this breach of communion.

^y S. Cyril Ep. ad Joh. Ant. Ib. P. i. c. 21.

^z Arnob. jun. c. Serapion. Bibl. Patr. T. 8. p. 222.

^a Conc. Eph. P. i. n. 20.

^b Ib. n. 21.

John of Antioch was alarmed at this prospect of a rent, and wrote to Nestorius to prevent it by accepting the word *Theotocos*^c. He wrote not in his own name only, but in that of six other Bishops who were then with him, among them Theodoret. He wrote in entire sympathy with Nestorius, in antagonism to those opposed to him. He speaks of the many, as ‘unrestrained against us,’ and asks, ‘what will they be, now that they have gained support from these wretched letters?’ He takes it for granted that the faith of Nestorius was sound; he had heard that he had said that he would use the word [*Theotocos*] if any of those in high repute in the Church suggested it, tells him that he does not exhort him to disreputable change, or, so to say, ‘boyish contradiction;’ that ‘though my lord Celestine had fixed a very narrow time for the answer, yet one day, perhaps a few hours would be enough; and urges him to take the counsel of those of his own mind, allowing them to speak fearlessly what was useful, not what was pleasant.’

John himself held and stated the true faith, and thought the word *Theotocos* the convenient and true way to express it, and that to reject it would jeopardise the unspeakable mystery of the Only-Begotten Son of God.

Nestorius had however taken his line. He answers in apparent amazement;

‘^d I thought that people could have set anything in motion against me rather than the calumny that I do not hold aright as to the piety of faith, I who hitherto have been delighted that many thousand hostilities rise against me on account of the battle which I have against

^c Ib. n. 25.

^d Synod. Ep. 3.

all heretics. But this temptation too I must bear with joy; for it too, if we watch very carefully, may confer on us much confidence to piety.'

He says in answer, that 'the word Theotocos is assumed by many heretics as their own;' that 'some here, using the word incautiously, fall thereby into heretical and irreligious thoughts, especially those of the impious Arius and Apollinarius:' that his own solution was that 'the word Theotocos should be explained harmoniously after the deliberation of us all.' He bids John

'dismiss all anxiety, knowing that by the grace of God we have and do think the same in what relates to the piety of faith. For it is plain that if we meet, since He has given us this Synod which we hope, we shall dispose this and whatever else must be done for the correction and benefit of the whole, without scandal and in harmony; so that all things which may be ordained by a common and universal decree may receive the dignity of matters of faith, and shall give no one an occasion of contradiction even if he be very ready for it. But as to the wonted presumption of the Egyptian, your Religiousness ought not to wonder, since we have of old very many instances of this. After a little, if God shall will, our counsel herein also will be matter of praise.'

He adds in a postscript,

'We have by the grace of God attracted more both the Clergy and people and those who are in the imperial mansions, through the Epistles of your Religiousness, to that doctrine which we give publicly in the Church.'

To S. Celestine, after writing in his wonted strain about the terms Theotocos, Anthropotocos, Christotocos, he writes exultingly:

‘^e The most pious Emperors have been pleased, with the help of God, to appoint a Synod of the whole world, from which no one is to excuse himself [inexcusabiliter] for the enquiry into other ecclesiastical matters. For any doubt about words will not, I suppose, involve any difficult enquiry, nor be a hindrance to treating of the Divinity of the Lord Jesus.’

S. Celestine says ^f,

‘He asks a field for battle; he calls for a sacerdotal examination, at which he would not be present. Who would have thought that he who asked for a synod [petitorem synodi] would be absent from the Synod?’

The relation of the Emperor to the Synod is best explained by the personal letter which he wrote to S. Cyril, commanding his attendance at it. The letter can hardly have had any other object than to intimidate S. Cyril. For he had already received the circular summons to the Council, of which the only extant copy is addressed to him. The letter was written altogether in the mind of Nestorius ^g. For he treats S. Cyril as the author of the existing confusion, and the doctrine as one hereafter to be examined and settled by the Council.

‘^h It is plain to every one that religion has its firmness not from any one’s bidding but from intelligence. Now then let thy Piety instruct Us, why, overlooking Us (whom thou knowest to have such care of godliness) and all the priests every where, who could better have

^e Ep. Nest. ad Celestin. in Mercator. P. 2. p. 81. Evagrius quotes from a book, which he wrote in answer to those who blamed him for having wrongly requested that the Synod at Ephesus should be convoked. i. 7.

^f Conc. Eph. P. 3. c. 23.

^g Liberatus (c. 4.) says that Nestorius obtained it from him.

^h Conc. Eph. P. 1. c. 31.

solved this dispute, thou hast, as far as in thee lies, cast confusion and severance into the Church. As if a rash impetuosity became questions as to godliness, rather than accuracy; or as if carefulness had not more weight with Ourselves than rashness; or as if intricacy in these things were more pleasing to Us than simplicity. And yet we did not think that Our high estimation would be so received by thy Piety, or that every thing would be thrown into confusion, inasmuch as We too know how to be displeased. But now We shall take heed to the sacred calm. But know that thou hast disturbed every thing as thou oughtest not.'

Then, having reproached him, as having tried to sow dissension in the Imperial family, by his letters to him and the Empress Eudocia, and his sister Augusta Pulcheria, and told him that it belonged to one and the same, to wish to dis sever Churches and Royalties, as though there were no other way of obtaining distinction, he resumes,

'But that thou mayest know Our state, be assured that the Churches and the kingdoms are united, and will be yet more united at Our command, with the providence of our Saviour Christ, and that thy Piety is forgiven, that thou mayest have no pretext, nor be able to say that thou art blamed on account of religion. For we will that all shall be laid open at the holy Synod and that what shall seem good shall prevail, whether the defeated obtain forgiveness from the fathers or no. We certainly will not endure that cities and Churches should be thrown into confusion, nor that the question should remain unsifted. Of these they must sit in judgment, who every where preside over the Priesthood; and by them We have and shall have firmer possession of the true doctrine. Nor shall any one, who has ever so little share in the polity, be allowed liberty of speech, if in his self-confidence he choose to evade such a judgement. He shall not be permitted; for Our Majesty [lit. Divi-

nity] must praise those who shall eagerly and readily come to this enquiry, and will not endure if any choose to command rather than be counselled about these matters. So then thy Reverence must come at the time appointed in the other letters, sent to all the Metropolitans; and must not expect to recover the relation to Ourselves in any other way than that, ceasing from all grievousness and turbulence, thou come willingly to the investigation of these questions. For thus thou wilt appear to have done what has hitherto been done harshly and inconsiderately, yet still in behalf of thy opinion, not through any private pique or undue hostility to any one, and to will to do with justice what remains to be done. For if thou wilt to do otherwise, We will not endure it.'

A Cæsar who so wrote could not be approached. It seems that he expected S. Cyril to be condemned rather than Nestorius. S. Cyril did not attempt to remove the offence of his letters to the Imperial family, until he had been allowed to return from the Council to his own diocese.

S. Cyril explains his own mind towards Nestorius to a zealous adherentⁱ of Nestorius, with a singular simplicity.

‘If I were writing to one who knew not my disposition, I might have used many words, persuading that I am a person exceeding peaceful, not given to strife, not fond of warfare, but one who longs to love all and to be loved by all. But because I write to one who knows me, I say briefly, ‘If a brother’s grief could be removed by loss of money or goods, I would gladly have done it, that I might not seem to hold anything of more value

ⁱ *ξηλωτήν.*

^j Ep. 7. p. 31. Neither the date of the Epistle nor the person to whom it was written is known. It must have been written before the heresy of Nestorius had become so plain.

than love. But since it is a question of faith, and all the Churches (so to say) in the whole Roman Empire are offended,—^k what shall we do, who are entrusted by God with the Divine mysteries?’ For those who are taught the faith will accuse us in the Day of Judgement, saying that they held the faith as taught by us. . . . Only be the faith preserved, and I am his dear friend and yield to none as loving more than myself the most God-beloved Bishop Nestorius, who (God is my witness) I would might be of good repute in Christ and efface the blot of the past, and shew that what is commonly said by some as to his faith, are untrue accusations.’

And again to Clergy at Constantinople,

‘¹ I must make my meaning plain to you and so I write again, that although I by nature love peace, and am very ignorant of strife, yet I wish that the Churches should have peace, and that the priests of God living in peace should remember us, since Jesus Christ the Saviour of all saith, “My peace I give unto you, My peace I leave with you.” Say then in conferences, that much has passed from them to injure us; yet there will be peace, when he shall cease to think or speak such things. If he profess the right faith, there will be a full and most firm peace. If he desires this, let him write the Catholic faith and send it to Alexandria. If this be written from his inmost heart, I too am ready, as far as in me lies, to write the like and publish a book and say that none of our fellow-bishops ought to be aggrieved, because we learn that his words have a right intention and manifest purpose. But if he continue in the perverseness of vain-glory and asks for peace, nothing remains but that we resist with all our might, lest we should seem to agree with him. For to me my chiefest

^k as ab. p. lxiv.

¹ As translated by Mercator. Opp. T. 2. pp. 53, 54. § xix—xxi. ed. Garn.

desire is to labour and live and die for the faith which is in Christ.’

There could scarcely be a franker offer, putting aside every thing of his own, to ‘write the Catholic faith.’ Nestorius is tied down to no Theological expressions, but to the simple faith. He could not write it, because he had ceased to hold it.

The Bishops assembled in that Synod were of no ordinary character. Vincentius of Lerins, writing about three years after it was holden, speaks of its

‘^m great humility and holiness, that they were for the more part metropolitans, of such condition and doctrine, that almost all could dispute about matters of faith, and yet they claimed nothing for themselves, but were careful to hand down nothing to those after them, which they had not themselves received from the Fathers.’

S. Cyril in his Apology to the Emperor, calls them ‘ⁿ men, very well known to your Mightiness, and exceeding well spoken of for excellence in all things.’

Nestorius came to the Council ‘^o immediately after the Feast of Easter’ with 10 or 15 Bishops, his adherents^p. He was also supported by a few Pelagian Bishops, whom he had admitted to Communion, and who for the time were retained in their office by the requirement of Theodosius, that everything should remain as it was, until the decision of the Council. He is said to have found

^m Common. i. 42.

ⁿ Apol. ad Imp. Conc. Eph. P. 3. n. 13. ^o Socr. vii. 34.

^p Ten Bishops signed with him “the relation of Nestorius and the Bishops with him to the Emperor concerning the things done in the holy Synod &c.” Conc. Eph. Act. i. n. 6. In Baluzii Conc. nova coll. p. 699. six names are added, one omitted.

many Bishops present. If so, they must have been Bishops from the Exarchate of Ephesus. For the rest are related to have arrived later. The Council was the plan of Nestorius, and he naturally came among the first, to guide, as he hoped, its decisions. S. Cyril, on his arrival, found that there had been active, though ineffectual, efforts against the faith. He wrote, ‘^aThe Evil one, the sleepless beast, is going about, plotting against the faith of Christ, but avails nothing.’ The Evil one is, of course, Satan; but Satan acts through human agents. Nestorius says, that he had no intercourse with S. Cyril. He wrote to Scholasticus, an Eunuch of the Emperor and his friend; ‘Cyril has both heretofore entirely avoided any converse with us, and until now avoids it, thinking that he shall thereby escape the conviction of the Chapters [the anathemas] because without contradiction they are heretical^r.’ If (as has been conjectured) it was at this time that S. Cyril made the extracts from the works of Nestorius, and possibly those from older writers^s, containing the true doctrine, he had

^a Ep. ad Alex. Conc. Eph. P. 1. c. 34.

^r Synodicon c. 15.

^s S. Cyril has been criticised, because words of Apollinarius were quoted among the authorities as from S. Julius. The words themselves, in their simple meaning, express the truth, and contradict Apollinarianism. Leontius (A.D. 590), who first detected the forgery by use of MSS. says, it contains nothing ‘quod nobis adversetur,’ i.e. to the Catholic Faith. (de sectis Act. 8.) The words are, ‘perfectus Deus in carne et perfectus homo in Spiritu.’ Vitalis confessed that ‘Christ was a perfect man,’ but explained it to mean, ‘We say so far that Christ was a perfect man, that we ascribe Divinity to Him instead of a mind.’ S. Epiph. Hær. 77. n. 23. See Coustant. Epp. Rom. Pont. App. p. 71. sqq.

enough to do. There is no reason to think that S. Cyril preached at this time against Nestorius^t.

The pure humanitarianism of Nestorius was elicited by the attempts of Theodotus of Ancyra, and his pious friend, Acacius, Bishop of Melitene, to bring him back to the faith. To Theodotus and several others, he repeated the well-known blasphemies about our Lord's sacred Infancy and Childhood, that he would not call *Him* God, who was two or three months old, or who was nurtured at the breast, or who fled into Egypt^u. This was stated upon oath to the Council. There was nothing further to investigate. It supplied what was yet wanting, the knowledge that Nestorius had not laid aside the heresy, for which he had been condemned the year before. S. Celestine had given the formal advice to S. Cyril^x, that if

^t The language which Mr. Neale censures [Hist. of the Holy Eastern Church B. ii. s. 2. p. 237.] occurs in a Homily utterly unlike S. Cyril's style, which Aubert admitted among his homilies, [T. v. 2. p. 279] but not the Editors of the Councils. [See further Dr. Bright's Hist. of the Church, p. 330. n. o.] Of the homilies delivered at Ephesus, the *οἱ τοῖς ἱεροῖς* [Aub. p. 350] is said in the collection of Baluzius [pp. 546—551] to have been delivered after the deposition of Nestorius. So is the 2nd *τῆς μὲν τῶν ἁγίων* Aub. p. 352. These have no allusion to him, nor has the *ὁ μακάριος προφήτης* p. 354. The *φαιδρόν ὁρῶ τὸ σύστημα* [Aub. p. 354 also in the Acta Conc. Eph. Act. 1. n. 13. upon which the homily quoted by Mr. Neale seems to be founded] speaks of the condemnation of Nestorius as past, *σεαυτὸν ἐξήλειψας*, p. 357. *ὁ Θεὸς καθεῖλέ σε καὶ ἐξέτιλε*. p. 358. The homily, *ἔδει μὲν ἀρκεῖσθαι* placed by both after the deposition [Aub. p. 358. Bal. p. 548.] scarcely alludes to Nestorius.

^u Conc. Eph. Act. 1. A Bishop, among his associates, justified the Jews, as having only slain a man.

^x Ep. ad Cyrill. in Conc. Eph. Act. 2. n. 3.

Nestorius came to a better mind, he should be received. He had, up to the moment of the opening of the Council, made things worse. He had taken into his own mouth the blasphemies, which before he had sanctioned in his adherent, Dorotheus. If one who nakedly denied the Incarnation was not fit to be Patriarch of Constantinople, Nestorius had decided against himself. It brought out what lay in his letter to S. Cyril which was formally condemned by the Council, that our Lord's relation to God was the same in kind, although not in degree, as that of any devout Christian.

There could be no question among any who listened to the evidence, as there was none among any of those who heard it. He was deposed on the evidence of his own letter to S. Cyril, of twenty sayings in his acknowledged works, and of contradictions to the faith in Ephesus itself.

S. Celestine had, it seems, collected a new Synod^y at Rome, from which he wrote to the Council. The Council itself reported that

‘^z although the whole multitude of Bishops were hindered from coming to Ephesus by the distance, yet being gathered in those parts, they, Celestine presiding, with entire consent, uttered our mind as to the faith. Those who came, explained to this our Synod by letter the mind of the whole Western Church.’

Philip, a presbyter, and Roman legate, after reading the Acts, declared that all things had been adjudged ‘^a according to the Canons and Ecclesiastical discipline.’

^y See Baronius H. E. A. 431. n. 7. sqq. and Pagi. Ib.

^z Relat. Conc. Eph. ad Imper. Act. iii. n. 1.

After long canvass on the part of the deputies of John's party to obtain a rescinding of the sentence of the Synod, the Prefect at last wrote to Nestorius,

‘^b We have delayed long what seemed to be done by the judgment of the Synod, although many greatly blamed us and were instant that it should be. But now the letters of your Holiness have been delivered to us, shewing that the lingering at Ephesus is distasteful to you, and that your Religiousness desires to journey, we have directed those, who ought to minister to you along the whole journey, to minister to you [by sea or land], on the whole way to your monastery. . . . We do not suppose that you need consolation, considering the wisdom of your soul, and the many thousand goods by which you are endowed above all others.’

Nestorius in his answer accepts as a gift the command to live in his monastery.

‘^c For nothing is more honourable to us, than a removal for piety. But I beseech your Highness, for the sake of religion, often to remind the pious Prince to set a note everywhere, by public Imperial letters, on the verbiages of Cyril which his Piety has adjudged, so that it should be read throughout the orthodox Churches, lest in the absence of letters of the pious Emperor, if the writings of Cyril should be said to be condemned by him, an occasion of scandal should arise to the simple, as if it were not said truly.’

Nestorius does not seem to mind his own deposition, so that the sentence against Cyril and Mem-

^a Conc. Eph. Act. iii. init.

^b Synodicon c. 24. The report mentioned by the delegates of John's party that Nestorius ‘was sent from Ephesus, to go where he liked’ [Epist. Schismat. ad suos. in Eph. Conciliab. n. 12] was accordingly inaccurate.

^c Synod. c. 25.

non be also confirmed; as Count John reported to the Emperor, that the party of John bore patiently the notice of the deposition of Nestorius, when united with that of Cyril and Memnon^d.

The public account which Nestorius gave^e, was, that 'he was allowed, at his own request, to retire to his monastery,' which was not more than two furlongs outside of Antioch.

There, Nestorius says, he 'received all sorts of honours and respectful presents.'

There, he himself says, he remained for four years. The adjuration of S. Celestine to Theodosius^f to 'remove him from all intercourse [with others], that he might have no facility to destroy others,' remained unheeded. After four years, by the decree of Theodosius, he was banished to the Oasis. Evagrius^g supplies the fact, that his former friend John of Antioch reported to the Emperor his continued blasphemies, and so 'Theodosius condemned him to perpetual banishment.'

He was removed from propagating his heresy personally, but could and did write in defence of it. The Oasis, to which he was finally removed, was a place not unpleasant in itself. It was however open to the incursions of a hostile tribe, the Blemmyes. With his sufferings there, in consequence of edicts of the Emperor, the Church had nothing to do. His treatment by the Emperor is unexplained. But the sufferings were God's temporal judgement inflicted through the State. The

^d Synodicon c. 26.

^e In a writing, which Evagrius had seen. Evagr. i. 7.

^f S. Celest. Ep. ad Theodos. Conc. Eph. P. iii. n. 21.

^g l. c.

Church was guiltless of them. Yet since "whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth," they shewed that God had not abandoned him to the last.

S. Cyril's relation to Nestorius ended with the sentence upon him. His own troubles then began. S. Cyril himself, on his arrival, had anticipated a speedy close of the Council^h. The Bishops had urged S. Cyril to hasten the hearing. 'ⁱ Some of the Bishops were weighed down by years; some were in peril of life through illness; some had died; some were straitened by poverty.' The Council had waited 16 days after the day of Pentecost, which the Emperor had peremptorily fixed for the opening of the Council. The whole Synod had exclaimed that he did not wish to be present. They supposed that he feared, '^k lest the Most Reverend Nestorius, who had been taken from the Church under his jurisdiction, should be deposed, and was perhaps ashamed of the business.'

John's delay might well be puzzling in those days when tidings travelled slowly. He himself did not explain it to the Council, although he did subsequently to the Emperor. There had been a scarcity at Antioch and consequent tumults among the people, so that much time was wasted in setting out. Incessant rains made the roads bad. Of all this the Bishops at Ephesus naturally knew nothing. They knew only that he had chosen the slow land-journey instead of coming by sea, and

^h Conc. Eph. P. 1. n. 34.

ⁱ Relatio Synodi ad Imp. Conc. Eph. Act. 1. n. 7.

^k S. Cyrill. Epist. ad Com. et Potam. Ib. n. 5.

even thus, under ordinary circumstances, he might have been punctual. Antioch was, by land, only 30 days' ¹ journey from Ephesus. From the close of Easter-week to Pentecost there are 41 days, and 14 more had elapsed before there was any notice of his arrival. Why should he delay, except that he did not wish to be there? Even Eutherius ^m, a Nestorian, thought that he delayed on purpose.

According to the statement of John, S. Cyril wrote to him two days before the opening of the Council, that the whole Council was awaiting his arrival. He meant then to wait for him. Moderns speak of S. Cyril as arbitrary; no one has ventured to say he was fickle. Something then must have intervened, which occasioned him to yield to the wish of the Bishops. The change would be explained, if S. Cyril had come in the meantime to know of the mind, in which the Antiochenes were coming to the Council. They made no secret of it. Their deputies may have informed S. Cyril. Theodoret, who was one of them, and who at that time used Nestorianising language which was condemned at the 5th General Council, says,

‘ⁿ Before we departed to Ephesus, the blessed John wrote to the most-God-beloved Bishop Eutherius of Tyana, and Firmus of Cæsarea, and Theodotus of Ancyra, calling these Chapters, teaching of Apollinarius. And at Ephesus our deposing him of Alexandria and him of Ephesus had for its ground the setting forth and confirmation of the Chapters. And there were many Synodical letters written to the Victorious Emperor, and

¹ Evagr. H. E. i. 3.

^m Synodicon Ep. 201.

ⁿ Ep. 112, ad Domnum.

the High Magistrates, and in like way to the people at Constantinople, and the most reverend Clergy. And moreover, when summoned to Constantinople, we had five resolutions in the presence of the Emperor himself, and we sent three protests to him subsequently.'

These charges *were* the pith of the different documents put forth by John's Conciliabulum. Of course, contravention of the Emperor's orders was put in the forefront; but no assembly, calling itself a Synod, could have deposed a Patriarch and a Bishop for neglecting or contravening the orders of an Emperor. The heresy alleged could be the only ground of deposition. John set forth this in the preamble which was accepted by his Conciliabulum.

‘° I would that no one of those set apart as priests of God should be cast out of the Church. But since the excision of incurable members is necessary for the health of the whole body, it is meet that Cyril and Memnon should be deposed, as the chiefs of the past lawlessness and of the trampling upon Ecclesiastical ordinances and the pious decrees of our most pious Emperor, *and on account of the heretical meaning of the aforesaid Chapters*, and that those subject to them should be excommunicated, until, recognizing their offence, they *anathematize the heretical Chapters of Cyril*, and agree to abide by the holy faith set forth by the holy fathers assembled at Nice, not superadding any thing other than it or foreign to godliness, and come together according to the pious letter of our most pious Emperor and examine as brothers the subjects of enquiry, and establish the pious faith.’

This same note sounds throughout, in every document of John's Conciliabulum^p.

° Acta Conciliab. post Conc. Eph. Act. 1.

p The Synod speaks of ‘the Chapters sent lately to Constan-
f

If S. Cyril had any intimation of this mind of the Antiochenes, it accounts for his sudden resolve not to wait for them, but to accede to the wishes of the other Bishops and open the Council without them. The mind of the Church had been expressed in the previous year. The Council itself was only a device of Nestorius to ward off his condemnation. He had already been severed from the Communion of the greater part of Christendom. The Council tinople by Cyril, as agreeing mostly with the impiety of Arius, Apollinarius, and Eunomius;’ ‘the Sentence’ states that the Synod was ‘hurried by Cyril, in order that the Chapters which agree with the evil and ungodly doctrine of Apollinarius and Arius and Eunomius might not be enquired into.’ The letter to the other Bishops of the Council whom they had excommunicated, says that they had ‘abetted the lawless things done by Cyril of Alexandria and Memnon the Ephesian, and maintained intercourse with men of an heretical mind.’ They tell the Emperor, that they had so done, ‘until they cast out and anathematize the Chapters sent out by Cyril, full of the evil doctrine of Apollinarius and Eunomius and Arius.’ John, in his own letter to the Clergy of Constantinople, says that the sentence was passed ‘until they anathematize the heretical Chapters of Cyril the Alexandrian, and receive without guile the faith of the holy fathers gathered at Nice.’ To the Senate in Constantinople, they speak of their ‘ceasing from their heretical and evil doctrine and recovering the faith of the holy fathers of Nice,’ as the condition of their being restored. To the people of Constantinople they say, that they ‘do not refuse repentance to the deposed and excommunicate, but would open the doors of loving-kindness, if they will very speedily anathematize the Chapters sent out by Cyril, which are alien from the Apostolic and Evangelic teaching.’ They still repeat in their Relation to the Queens, that they ‘had deposed Cyril and Memnon, and removed them from the Episcopate, until they become conscious of their wounds and truly repent and anathematize the heretical Chapters of Cyril, agreeing with this impiety of Apollinarius etc.’ (*Acta Conciliabuli post Act. 1, Conc. Eph.*) The like was repeated in the later *Acta* of the Conciliabulum and in Theodoret.

represented the whole West, North Africa, Egypt, Jerusalem, Macedonia, Illyricum, Pontus, Cappadocia, Armenia. The 15 or 17^a Bishops of John of Antioch, even if united with the 10 or 15^r Bishops of Nestorius, were but a fraction of the Church. No injustice was done to Nestorius. But grave confusion and scandal might have ensued upon John's arrival. If John had brought into the Council the charge of heresy, which his Conciliabulum alleged so perseveringly against S. Cyril and Memnon, it would have rested with Candidian, the friend of Nestorius, to rule in what order the charges should be taken. Candidian threw himself so entirely into John's side (even in intercepting the Relation of the Council to the Emperor), that he would, without doubt, have preferred the charge of heresy against S. Cyril. What the result would have been, He only can know, Who sees the things which have not been, as if they had been. *We* cannot write the things which have not been, since God Alone knows the hearts which He made, and how they would have developed under trials which He spared. But Nestorius had shewn himself practised in inflicting violence, as Dioscorus up to the eve of the Latrocinium had not. Soldiers of Theodosius had not much respect for Bishops. Those who carried the news of the deposition of Nestorius to Count Irenæus brought back to the Council the marks of their ill-treatment^s. Nestorius had brought his own guard of soldiers and a great number of peasants and others from the worst parts of Constantinople. Candidian had

^a See Tillemont, S. Cyrille, Note 43. ^r See ab. p. lxxiii.

^s Epist. Memnon. ad Cler. Const. Conc. Eph. Act. vi. n. 14.

drawn troops from the garrison at Tripoli in Lydia. It has been noticed that the seamen who brought S. Cyril were ready to support him, and the peasantry of the lands of the see of Ephesus to support Memnon. The whole population of Ephesus were enthusiastic in behalf of the ancient doctrine, as they shewed by their exuberant joy^t, when the sentence, for which they had waited from morning to evening, was announced.

It would be mere matter of imagination to picture anything further. But the second Council of Ephesus, which became the Latrocinium under the guidance of Dioscorus, was called just as legitimately as the first.

However this may have been, it does not require much humility to think that S. Cyril, in the midst of the events, knew more than we, who see them only through some fragmentary records of the past. Even apart from the menace of Candidian, one so long-sighted as S. Cyril must have known that he would incur the grave displeasure of Theodosius, by superseding his orders; that there was a strong *prima-facie* case of contravening them against him; and that the Emperor, who had written to him as he had, was not one to be trifled with. Yet he braved it all. It was of moment to the Church, that the heresy of Nestorius should be condemned. The sentence once passed could not be reversed; because the whole Church except the Antiochenes agreed in it.

So S. Cyril assented to the wish of the Council not to delay, and braved the Emperor's displeasure, expecting it to fall on himself alone.

^t S. Cyr. Ep. ad Cler. Const. Conc. Eph. Act. 1. n. 9.

His earthly future, after the Council was over, remained for some time in the balance. Candidian sent to the Emperor an adverse report^u; John's Conciliabulum sent their complaints^x, as if they had been *the* Council; Nestorius sent *his* account^y; S. Cyril was not heard. Theodosius first condemned the condemnation of Nestorius; annulled the proceedings of the Council; forbade any Bishop to leave Ephesus, to come to his Court or to return home^z. The adherents of Nestorius in Constantinople hindered any tidings of his deposition coming both by sea and by land^a: Candidian precluded access at a distance^b. S. Cyril's deposition by John's Conciliabulum was reported at Constantinople, as if it were the act of the Council^c; it was (S. Cyril understood) consequently deliberated at Court, whether he should not be banished^d.

His deposition was accepted, and he himself put under a guard of soldiers placed even at his bedroom door. Memnon wrote^e, that they were sometimes deprived of necessities^f, were insulted by the rustics and the rabble which Nestorius had brought. S. Cyril was at peace. He wrote,

‘^g Since the letter of the most religious and Christ-loving

^u Acta Conciliab. init. (post Conc. Eph. Act. i.)

^x Lit. Conciliab. ad Imperat. l. c.

^y Nest. &c. Relat. ad Imp., Conc. Eph. Act. i. n. 6.

^z Sacra, ap. Acta Conciliab. post Conc. Eph. Act. vi. n. 3.

^a Rescript. Epp. Const., Conc. Eph. Act. vi. n. 9

^b Relat. Conc. Ib. n. 8.

^c Relat. Synod. ad Imp. l. c.

Act. v. n. 1. and more fully Relat. 2. Act. vi. n. 12.

^d Epist. S. Cyr. ad cler. et pop. Const. Act. vi. n. 13.

^e Ep. Memnon. ib. n. 14.

^f πάντων ὁμοῦ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων.

^g Ep. ad Theopempt. Ib. Act. vi. n. 18.

Emperors has been read, in which it was said that the deposing of the three was to be accepted, we have been kept in ward, not knowing what will be the issue. But we give thanks to God, if we be thought worthy for His Name's sake not to be prisoners only, but also to endure all besides. For it is not without its reward.—As the blessed David says, “I am ready for the scourge.”’

At the wish of the Council, he employed the leisure of his imprisonment in explaining his Anathematisms^h.

The Conciliabulum, in transmitting ‘the Alexandrian’s new exposition of the heretical chapters,’ said that he ‘thereby shewed his impiety more evidentlyⁱ.’ They even wondered at the perseverance of the Council, notwithstanding the imprisonment of Cyril and Memnon. They write as a Synod,

‘^k Count John holds in most guarded custody Cyril and Memnon, thrusting [detrudens] each apart, and placing a multitude of soldiers around the house of each. Yet not even thus are *they* still, who turn every thing upside down and have filled the world with confusion and sedition, but acting as usual, make a confusion, and set in motion a rule against themselves. For, being excommunicated, they have audaciously assumed to themselves the ministry of the priesthood, &c.’

And again in their Epistle to Acacius of Berrhœa,

‘Your Religiousness should know that they [the Bishops of the Council] have been excommunicated by us, because they co-operated with the insanity of the heretic Cyril and what he did unlawfully and iniquitously, and

^h Conc. Eph. P. iii. n. 1.

ⁱ Orient. Ep. ad suos in Const., Acta Conciliab. post Act. vi. Conc. Eph. n. 20.

^k Synodicon c. 18.

^l Ib. c. 19.

have presumed to exercise their office and to communicate with the condemned.—And these things they commit, knowing that those most injurious persons Cyril and Memnon have been thrust [trusi] away and are kept by a multitude of soldiers. For thrusting [trudentes] each apart, they guard them night and day ; wherefore let your Holiness pray &c.’

The Bishops of the Council seem also to have thought that it was the intention of the Nestorianisers to wear them out to undo what they had done. A brief memorial at the end of their letter to the Clergy of Constantinople says,

‘^mWe are being killed with the heat through the heaviness of the air, and some one is buried almost daily ; so that all the servants are sent home, and all the other Bishops are in the same state. Whence we pray your Reverences to go to the gracious Sovereign and say that the Synod is oppressed by those, who prevent any term being given, so that we are altogether perishing by exhaustion. But your Reverences should know, that although they press upon us till we all die, we will not do any thing other than our Saviour Christ has taught us to decree.’

The cordon was drawn with all safety to hinder any report from the Council reaching the Emperor’s ears. It was snapped by a mendicant. The Clergy of Constantinople wrote,

‘ⁿSince no one can do any thing against God (for what is man?), by the ordering of God there arrived an Epistle written from Ephesus to the holy Bishops and monks sent by a beggar who tied it within a reed, and thus, begging and carrying his reed, brought it. Forthwith all the monasteries with the Archimandrites arose and

^m Common. ad Cler. Const. Conc. Eph. Act. vi. n. 16.

ⁿ Rescript. Epist. Const., Conc. Eph. Act. vi. n. 9.

went to the palace. The holy Dalmatius, one of the Archimandrites, had not left his monastery for 48 years, but remained enclosed. Our most pious Emperor went to him and saw him. There being oftentimes earthquakes in Constantinople, the Emperor oftentimes requested him to come forth and say litanies; he never would. But when he was praying about this, a voice came down from heaven bidding him go forth. For He did not will that His flock should perish utterly.'

The Archimandrites, who were admitted, prevailed. Theodosius learnt with surprise^o that while the Nestorians had free ingress and regress, the deputies of the Council had been refused access to him.

The Emperor tried in vain to reconcile the Antiochenes with S. Cyril.

The Antiochenes, in their third indignant protest^p, reproached the Emperor with their obedience, reminded him that the East was no small part of his Empire, that he needed the true faith to prevail in the war which then encircled Africa, that God would fight for him, if he would defend the holy faith, and would not allow the body of the Church to be cut of, but it *would* be cut off, if the meaning superinduced on the faith by Cyril and confirmed by others should stand; that persons intermixed with the Churches taught the doctrine of Apollinarius and Arius and Eunomius, and unlawfully and irregularly exercised the office of the priesthood. They conclude with the prayer that he

^o Emperor. 'If it be so, let the Bishops who have arrived come.'
 Dalm. 'No one allows them to come.' Emp. 'No one hinders.'
 Dalm. 'They have been controlled and hindered from coming.'

^p Synodicon c. 35.

would not allow any thing to be stealthily introduced against the faith of the holy fathers who met at Nice. If after this admonition before God the Emperor did not acquiesce, they 'with S. Paul shook off the dust from their feet against them, saying, "We are clean from the blood of all men." We have not ceased night and day, from the time we came to the holy Synod to protest to the Emperor, Judges, soldiers, priests, and laymen, not to be the betrayers of the faith delivered by the fathers.'

It was an internecine war, continued even after the return of the Eastern Bishops to their sees; the Easterns still absolutely demanded the deposition of S. Cyril Memnon and all their adherents, and that their teaching should be proscribed.

S. Cyril shewed his peace-loving disposition on his return to Egypt. The Orientals had brought upon him his imprisonment, its privations and indignities, and the prospect of banishment. This they had done by aping a Council, yet without the formalities of a Council, without enquiring into anything which the real Council had done, assuming that they had done what they had not done—formally sanctioned the Anathematisms which S. Cyril had framed, not as a rule of faith but to cut off the evasions of Nestorius, and that these Anathemas were heretical. They had persuaded the Emperor, that their 40 Bishops, who represented one Patriarchate, were the Council of the whole world, which he had convoked. Until they found it useless to mention the name of Nestorius

to the Emperor^q, they urged *his* restoration and the deposition of S. Cyril. He had escaped in despite of them. They would not be persuaded that Nestorius was the heretic which he was; and they would repeat that S. Cyril was an Arian, Eunomian, Apollinarian, although they must have known that at the least he was neither Eunomian nor Arian.

There was nothing then for S. Cyril to do in regard to them. They had fallen into the trap which Nestorius had laid for them by sending the Anathemas meant to test his own sincerity, without the Epistle which would have explained them. It became an axiom with Theodoret that they were heretical. S. Cyril then could but wait. S. Sixtus iii., a peace-loving Bishop who had succeeded S. Celestine, bears him witness that he had shewed at once how mindful he was of the faith and how regardless of contumelies, which he suffered gloriously, according to the Apostle, wishing that the Churches should be well-ordered, rather than that he should be righted himself; that one [Nestorius] having wrecked himself, he was anxious that all the rest should be saved out of the waves. ‘The same mind is in us also; to act tenderly towards them, when they cease to be impious towards God. Let those then, who will to return to the right way, be received.’ He addresses S. Cyril himself,

‘Hold fast, most beloved brother, what has been done by the Council, and what has been defined by us. For a brother dismisses contumelies which benefit him before the Lord of all. For such contumely is victory.

^q Ep. Theodoret. ad Alex. Hierap. Acta 2. Conciliab. n. 13.

^r Xysti Ep. ad Cyr. in Coteler. Eccl. Gr. Mon. T. i. pp. 46, 47.

Whence he has borne meekly all the sharp blows, nor did those things grieve him, wherein he now rejoices; for he strove for a crown. For he knows what prizes are in store for the victors in such conflicts.'

S. Sixtus coincided altogether with S. Cyril, but spoke strongly; 'let him [John] know that he shall be one of the Catholic body, if, undoing all undone by the Synod, he shew himself a Catholic priest.'

S. Cyril required nothing for himself. The Bishops, whom the Emperor assembled at Constantinople, propounded the terms, at which the Emperor was 'exceedingly pleased.'

'^s The Bishop, full of piety, John of Antioch, must anathematise the doctrine of Nestorius, and acknowledge in writing his deposition; and this being done, the Bishop of Alexandria will, out of love, forget altogether and regard as nothing the contumelies which he endured at Ephesus, very grievous as they were, and hard to endure.'

John's party would not accept them. The first conditions of peace on John's side, which Aristolaus, the Emperor's deputy, selected as the mildest ^t, were in fact, of unconditional submission.

The terms were,

'^u We acknowledge the Nicene Creed as sufficient, but the letter of S. Athanasius to Epictetus explains its meaning. We abide therefore therein, and cast off all

^s S. Cyr. Ep. ad Acac. Melit. Conc. Eph. P. 3. c. 35.

^t Ep. Alex. ad Andr. Samos. Synod. c. 58.

^u Propositiones directæ ab Acacio Berrh. Cyrillo Alex. in Concilio &c. Synodicon c. 53. The Bishops in whose names Acacius sent it, were John of Antioch, Alexander Hierop., Macarius of Laodicea, Andr. Samos., and Theodoret.

doctrines recently superinduced, either by Epistles or Chapters, as disturbing the common faith :'

i. e. he was to acknowledge that he, not Nestorius, had been the disturber of the Church. S. Cyril most gladly^v received the Epistle to Epictetus^x, but shewed them that their own copies had been corrupted by heretics^y. For the rest, he said that to withdraw what he had written would be to unsay all which had been said against the heresy of Nestorius. He was, in fact, to withdraw by his single act Epistles, of which one had been accepted by the Council of Ephesus, individually and as a body, the other, with the anathemas, had been placed among its Acts (no one excepting), and undo his whole work at the dictum of John and five other Bishops.

The Orientals then selected a wiser envoy, Paul of Emesa. Yet even him they burthened with complaints, 'as if some things had been said and done wrongly' in the Synod. This occasioned the only reminiscence of the past ill-treatment, 'zThey who ought to seek pardon for the past, how do they add fresh contumelies?' When these were withdrawn, S. Cyril says, 'we were filled with gladness of heart;' and 'contrary perhaps to his expectations,' Paul found him fully disposed for peace^a. S. Cyril's relation shews how deeply he felt the rent as a work of Satan. He accepted at once a Confession, written (John said in his letter to S. Cyril) 'by us

^v Gratissime.

^x Epist. Joh. Antioch. per Paul. Emis. Cyrillo, Synod. c. 80.

^y S. Cyr. Ep. 34. ad Joann. fin. p. 109. Ep. 38. ad Success. v. fin. p. 140.

^z S. Cyr. Ep. ad Donat. Conc. Eph. P. 3. n. 38.

^a S. Cyr. Ep. ad Joh. Ant. Conc. Eph. P. 3. c. 34.

in harmony^b.’ He gave to Paul a statement of faith, which John accepted. Paul preached in the great Church of Alexandria^c. ‘The people cried out, This is the Faith, the gift of God, orthodox Cyril. This we sought to hear.’ S. Cyril wrote to John the exulting letter, beginning with the words of the Psalm, ‘Let the heavens rejoice and the earth be glad. For the middle-wall of partition is dissolved; what saddened has ceased; all manner of discord is removed. For Christ, the Saviour of us all, has bestowed peace upon all His Churches.’

He says, in a sort of under-tone to Maximian^d who had succeeded Nestorius,

‘Strife and contention reign not among us, but we have all one mark, looking to peace. And if those who from the first have differed in opinion from us and cut themselves off from us, had willed, there would have been no strife or difference among the Churches. But blessed be the Saviour, Who hath lulled the storm &c.’

It was S. Cyril’s lot, then as now, to be misunderstood. He was blamed as to the peace, as, before, for the conflict. Theodoret could not but acquiesce in the acceptance of his own Synodal letter, but held it to be directly contradictory of the twelve Chapters^e. To his lord and truly God-loving and venerable holy father Nestorius’ he apologises for the peace, and assures him, that he holds Cyril in abhorrence, as being the author of all the disturbance of the whole world^f. The Nes-

^b Conc. Eph. P. iii. n. 30. It is translated by Dr. Bright, Hist. of the Church, pp. 350, 351.

^c Homil. Paul. Ib. n. 31.

^d Conc. Eph. P. iii. n. 39.

^e Ep. 171 ad Joh. Ant.

^f Ep. 172. A very bitter letter against S. Cyril is ascribed to Theodoret in the Synodicon c. 121.

torianizers were of course very angry; but he had to explain himself, even to his old friend Acacius of Melitene as also to others^g. He whom the Orientals had so unrelentingly persecuted was now their defender, shewing that they were not Nestorians, and trying patiently to win back to the Communion of the Church individuals still alienated.

He had to bear what was still harder, the reproaches of S. Isidore, to whom he had a filial affection^h. S. Isidoreⁱ had told him before of 'the jeers of many at Ephesus, as if thou wert wreaking thine own enmity, and not seeking, as one orthodox, the things of Jesus Christ. For, say they, he is a nephew of Theophilus.'

He had again set forth to him the faith of the Incarnation^j as something which 'thou thyself wouldest not deny,' and now, when S. Cyril had himself accepted the same statement as propounded by him, he wrote,

'^k Wondrous man, thou oughtest to remain ever unchanged, not betraying the things of heaven, nor appearing contradictory to thyself. For if thou comparest what thou hast now written with thy former writings, thou wilt seem chargeable with flattery, or the minister of off-handedness, yielding to vain-glory, instead of imitating the strivings of all those great holy

^g See Tillemont *S. Cyrille d' Alex. Art. 126.* and the extracts in *Liberatus Breviarium c. ix.* 'De Cyrilli Epistolis pro Orientalibus scriptis.' ^h see above p. viii. ⁱ *S. Isid. Epp. i. 310.*

^j 'That the Very and supreme God became Very Man, not changed from what He was, and taking what He was not, being from two natures One Son, without beginning and without end, recent and Eternal, thou thyself wouldest not deny, having very many evidences thereof from our holy father Athanasius, a man, who, above nature, soared aloft to the things of God.' *Ep. i. 323.*

^k *Ib. 324.*

combatants, who endured to be ill-treated all their life in a foreign land, rather than even hear a thought of evil doctrine.'

S. Isidore, in his zeal for S. Cyril's perfecting, seems to have written to him according to the sayings of others. It must have been hard to be so unjustly blamed by a saint, but S. Cyril seems to have received the undeserved censure in silence.

One more occasion is recorded in which a public expression of opinion was asked of him, as to the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia.

The Council, while sparing his name, had already condemned a Creed of his, which had been presented by some Nestorians to many Quartodecimans and Novatians who wished to return to the Church¹. S. Proclus sent to John of Antioch a Tome containing Nestorian passages of Theodore (equally sparing his name), requesting him to have them condemned. Maximus, the bearer, contrary to his instructions, inserted the name. The Antiochenes, after this, would not condemn the passages, even without the name^m. Maximusⁿ, an Archimandrite, came to Alexandria, 'speaking much and strongly' against the Easterns, the 'orthodox have no room there nor freedom to speak the faith.' '° A noble officer of the Palace presented to S. Cyril, when at Jerusalem, a long Epistle of many Clergy and monks and laity, accusing the Eastern Bishops, that they, suppressing the name of Nestorius, professed to be

¹ Conc. Eph. Act. vi. S. Cyril says that it was the Creed of Theodore, in his Epistle to S. Proclus Ep. 54. p. 199.

^m Fac. pro def. 3 Capp. viii. 2.

ⁿ S. Cyr. Ep. 59, ad Cler. et Lampon. p. 194. ° Ib.

averse to him, and bounded down to the books of Theodore on the Incarnation, in which lie many more grievous blasphemies than those of Nestorius. For he was the father of the ill-doctrines of Nestorius, and by speaking his words, the ungodly man is in his present condition.' The Alexandrians, having refused to sign the Tome of S. Proclus, appealed to S. Cyril^p. S. Cyril indignantly set aside any likeness of 'the ill-reputed doctrine of Diodore and Theodore' to that of the great fathers whom John alleged^q. To John of Antioch he wrote^r, that no one should utter in Church the ungodly doctrines of Theodore; but he dwelt on the tenderness, with which those returning should be received, and not be reproached for the past: to Proclus^s, that Theodore had died in the communion of the Church; that in rejecting his Creed the Council had purposely spared his name, lest some should separate from the Church; that in rejecting the blasphemies of Nestorius they had virtually condemned what was like them; that if it could be done without disturbance, it would be best for the sake of others; but that since John of Antioch wrote, that 'they would rather be burned with fire than do anything of that sort, why should we fan the stilled flame?' that those who wished the writings to be condemned might be persuaded to be quiet rather than give occasion of scandal to the Church. To Maximus, who would not communicate with John because of

^p Johan. Ant. et Syn. S. Cyrillo, in S. Cyril. Ep. 50. pp. 192, 193. This in itself refutes the calumny of his old enemy, Count Irenæus, that S. Cyril, for private reasons, suggested this censure of writings of Theodore.

^q S. Cyr. ad Joann. Ep. 51. p. 195. ad Acac. Ep. 52. p. 197.

^r Ep. 51. p. 196. ^s Ep. 54. p. 199, 200.

some suspected of Nestorianism, he wrote^t urging the reception of those willing to return to communion, even though ashamed to own their fall.

Everywhere he is the peace-maker. The veteran pilot, who, under God, had guided the ship through the storm, sat, watching each cloud, as it arose. His one thought was, 'Peace has been restored; take we heed that it be not again broken.'

S. Cyril thought it indeed right to correct in writing the errors of Theodore; but this disturbed no peace, since Theodore was gone. Theodoret, as usual, wrote against him, but Theodoret had not S. Cyril's accurate Theological mind. S. Cyril, in his 9th Anathematism, called God the Holy Ghost, 'the Very own Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ' adopting the language of S. Athanasius, that "the Holy Spirit was the Very own Spirit of the Son." Theodoret declaimed chiefly, as if S. Cyril had said this of the Humanity of our Lord, not of His Godhead; but adds, at the end, the sad words, 'If he so calls Him as One in Nature and proceeding from the Father, we will receive it; but if, as having His existence *from* the Son or *through* the Son, we will fling it away as blasphemous and ungodly.' Theodoret could not have been, at that time, acquainted with the great writers before him, S. Dionysius of Alexandria, S. Athanasius, S. Basil, S. Gregory of Nyssa, Didymus, S. Epiphanius, S. Cyril of Jerusalem^v, who used the 'from' or the 'through' which he 'flings' from him. S. Cyril's well-weighed and

^t Ep. 49. p. 192.

^u Ep. i. ad Serapion. n. 32. p. 681

^v See at length in 'On the Clause "And the Son," in regard to the Eastern Church &c.' pp. 113—123. or Preface to S. Cyril's Commentary on S. John T. i. pp. xxi sqq. 1874. Oxf.

full language has continued to teach man until now. The impetuous language of Theodoret, if it had had any lasting weight, would have fostered the disbelief of any relation between God the Son and God the Holy Ghost, contrary to our Baptismal Creed.

Theodoret thought good to defend Theodore against S. Cyril, arguing against all the authorities which S. Cyril had adduced ^w. The one fragment which remains is written sharply ^x. S. Cyril had explained and re-explained his Anathematisms against Theodoret's attacks; for the alienated Antiochenes had to be reconciled, and a breach to be healed. *This* censure of his work against Theodore concerned only himself, so he went on his way in peace.

S. Cyril's strong natural love has been incidentally noticed ^y. One could hardly picture him, such as he has been ordinarily represented, in advancing years, enfolding and kissing the letter of his friend Acacius, Bishop of Melitene, enquiring about a type in the Old Testament, 'the scapegoat ^z.' Yet since all service to God must involve self-denial, perhaps one of strong natural love was the fitter instrument of God for the hard service of that dreary warfare, as it must have aided him in the congenial office of reconciling the alienated.

Outward events give but little insight into the inward mind. S. Cyril is now chiefly known (as far as he is known at all) as the zealous defender of the Faith. But it was the Faith in Him, his

^w Leont. de sect. Act. 8. B. P. x. 672. ^x Conc. v. Coll. v.

^y by my son above, p. xxix.

^z Ep. 36 ad Acac. p. 121.

God and his All. Many must have been his peaceful years before he was called out by the needs of his own people, to defend the truth of God against a living assailant. His work against the Emperor Julian (which even his opponent Theodoret admired ^a, in the midst of his hottest hostility) was written, he says, on the exhortation of many, because the heathen perplexed Christians, alleging that he was not refuted, because he could not ^b. This then too was written out of a love for souls. He himself explained to Nestorius that, in his book on the Holy Trinity, he had written some things akin to what he then wrote, but with no reference to him, since it was written before Nestorius himself wrote.

Controversy was not his natural element. Cassiodorus counts him among those who were said ^c at least to have commented on the whole of Holy Scripture. His Commentaries are the largest portion of His extant works, yet these are but a part of a larger whole ^d. From these peaceful meditations on God's word he was roused by the disturbance of his monks through writings of Nestorius.

^a mentioned Ep. 83.

^b Præf. ad libb. c. Julian. Opp. T. vi. P. ii. p. 6. Aub.

^c 'Ferunt.' Cassiod. Præf. ad Institt. init.

^d His Commentaries on select passages of the Pentateuch, on Isaiah, the Minor Prophets, S. John, are known to all, as forming four out of the seven volumes of his works. Besides these, much of the Commentary on the Gospel of S. Luke has been preserved in the Syriac [published with a translation by Dr. Payne Smith]. Fragments of the Commentary of the Epistles to the Romans, the Corinthians, and the Hebrews were recovered from Catenæ by Cardinal Mai and Dr. Cramer. The Collection, weeded of some passages wrongly ascribed to S. Cyril (as is the wont of Catenæ), was edited by my son: some things were added from a MS. of Mount Athos, and the Syriac MSS. in the British Museum [S. Cyril.

It has been noticed already^e that types of our Lord were the chief object of interest to him in his first book on the Pentateuch, 'on the adoration in spirit and in truth:' his faith in the Incarnation and our union to God through It, are naturally prominent, as indeed it gleams through everywhere^f. His was the exact contrary of the mind of Theodore of Mopsuestia of the Antiochene school: as has been said of our Bishop Horne and another, 'the one sees Christ every where, the other no where.' A mind which so meditates on God's word, not on particular expressions, but on the whole, is not that of the fierce controversialist which some of late have pictured him.

It remains only to collect what has been said as to the contents of this volume.

i. The Five books against Nestorius. 'These,' it has been said^g, 'may be well called, a Defence of S. Proclus. For S. Cyril in it mainly answers the

in D. Joan. Evang. Vol. iii. Oxon.]. Various old authorities say that he also wrote a Commentary on S. Matthew, (Tillemont, S. Cyr. d'Alexandrie Art. 158. v. fin). [The fragments on the Acts and Catholic Epistles, published by the Abbé Migne, did not appear to my son to furnish evidence of having formed a part of a regular Commentary l. c. p. 441. 445]. Of the O.T. large fragments of the Commentary on the Psalms and fragments of a Comm. on Jeremiah have been recovered by Card. Mai. It is certain that he wrote a Commentary on Ezekiel. There are not a few fragments of his Comment. on the Canticles. He also wrote on the book of Wisdom. (See Card. Mai Bibl. Nov. Patr. T. iii. Præf.)

^e see ab. p. x.

^f see ab. p. xix.

^g Garnier, Pref. to 'the fifth Sermon of Nestorius de Deo nato et Virgine Θεοτόκῳ, the second against S. Proclus,' in his edition of Marius Mercator P. 2. p. 29.

sermons preached by Nestorius against S. Proclus. For the first two books are on the Virgin being Θεοτόκος, and the term 'birth' ascribed to God; the third is of *His* being our Priest, Who is God; the fourth and fifth are for the most part on God suffering and dying.'

S. Cyril himself says that he undertook the work with reluctance, but that the homilies were written in a popular and attractive style and were full of heavy accusations against the doctrines of the truth, and left him no choice^h. Nestorius is not named in it. Hence it has been inferred that the work was written before the Council of Ephesusⁱ. Photius notices that 'in the first book, he refutes six heads of the blasphemies of Nestorius; in the second, 14; in the third, 6; in the fourth and fifth, 7 each.' He adds^j that 'his mode of interpretation is framed according to his wonted way of expression, yet brought down to a lower style.'

ii. The Scholia are said by Photius to 'contain much which is useful.' S. Cyril, with his wonted simplicity, speaks of them as '^kbrief expositions of the dispensation of Christ, very good and useful.' A modern writer says, '^lThe value of the work may be inferred from this, that scarce any subsequent writer, who employed the authority of Cyril in explaining the mystery of the Incarnation, failed to take a passage or more from the Scholia.' This work also was quoted, with two other passages of S. Cyril, among the testimonies from the books of Catholic fathers, appended to the Epistle of S. Leo

^h p. 4. ⁱ Tillemont Art. S. Cyrille d'Alex. c. 156.

^j cod. 169. ^k Common. ad Eulogium. Conc. Eph. P. 3. n. 37.

^l Garnier Præf. in Scholia in M. Mercator. p. 218.

to the Emperor Leo^m. It closed the collection laid before the Council of Chalcedonⁿ and then ensued the acclamations, 'Eternal be the memory of Cyril.—Leo and Cyril taught alike.' It is quoted even by Theodoret^o with sayings of 19 other fathers, in proof that 'Saints distinguished the Natures after the Union.' He alleges three places from it^p, two from his Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews^q, one from the Epistle to Nestorius^r, one from the defence against the Easterns^s, and two more not identified. The Scholia are quoted also by Facundus^t, Leontius of Byzantium^u, and S. Ephrem of Antioch repeatedly^x. They not only quote it as S. Cyril's, but confirm the faith by testimonies from it.

It was translated into Latin by S. Cyril's contemporary, Marius Mercator. It is extant also in a Syriac translation, from which my son, here and there, corrected or explained the Latin text of Mercator.

Garnier remarks upon the careful arrangement which S. Cyril employed in its construction. 'He first explains single words; what is Christ; what, Emmanuel; what, Jesus; what, One; what, Union. Then, he turns to the propositions, commonly used

^m Ep. 165 ed. Ball.

ⁿ Conc. Chalc. Act. ii. fin. The passages quoted are from c. 4. init., below p. 189. and c. 13. p. 201. ^o Dial. ii. fin.

^p § 4 init. bel. p. 189. § 13. bel. pp. 200, 201. § 27. bel. p. 215.

^q See my son's S. Cyrilli Comm. in D. Joann. T. iii. App. pp. 420, 421. ^r S. Cyr. Opp. T. v. P. ii. p. 23. Aub.

^s Ib. T. vi. p. 157 sq.

^t pro defens. 3 Capp. L. vi. 3. xi. 7.

^u c. Nest. et Eutyech. L i. quoting c. 35 bel. p. 224.

^x in Photius cod. 229.

herein, and discusses in what way Christ is One; Emmanuel, One; Jesus, One; i.e. One Lord, &c. Further, how the Word is said to have been 'emptied,' united with the flesh, made Man, and yet not therefore changed, or ceasing to be God. Thence, how Christ is not a man Θεοφόρος, [bearing God,] or inspired by God, but is really man-God [better, God-Man]; then, in what way the Word is said to dwell in us, to be sent to us, to have His own proper Body, and how the Holy Virgin is said to be Theotocos. Lastly, that the Only-Begotten, appearing in visible flesh is called God and Man; how He suffered: in which last he refutes those who suppose, that things belonging to man can be spoken of God, relatively only. I have already said, that almost every chapter is full of distinctions useful in turning aside the objections of heretics.' Photius divides it into ten heads; 'These things,' he said, 'are clearly explained in it; What is Christ; in what way the word 'Emmanuel' is to be understood, and what is 'Jesus the Christ;' and in what respect the Word of God is called Man; then, in what respect the Word of God is said to have been emptied; and how Christ is One, and how Emmanuel is One; and what we say is the Union, and about the coal which Elias saw, and other things like these.'

iii. That Christ is One. The treatise must have been written after the condemnation of Nestorius, since he is refuted by name in it. It must, however, have been written not later than A. D. 441, since it is quoted by Andrew of Samosata. It is

quoted with praise by S. Eulogius^z and Leontius of Byzantium^a. . . The Père Garnier says of it; ‘^b Eo nihil exactius elucubratusque ad historiam dogmatis Cyrillus scripsit, ut videatur opus artificis præcedentibus laboribus absolute eruditi.’

iv. S. Cyril wrote the three books against Diodore and Theodore of Mopsuestia and that against the Synousiastæ or Apollinarians at a later period, when, the writings of Nestorius being proscribed, Nestorianisers betook themselves to those of Diodore and Theodore, the real originators of Nestorianism. The fragments have been collected with great pains from every source, hitherto known. Some were ready at hand, having been collected for the 5th General Council, and embodied in its Acts; others were collected by John, Bishop of Cæsarea, in his defence of the Council of Chalcedon, which is still extant in MS., in Syriac and in Greek at Venice and at Cairo (where my son saw it); others by Severus of Antioch^c. The sources, whence the extracts are derived, are mentioned in the notes. The originals, as extant in Greek and Syriac, are among the collection of Fragments appended to my son's third volume of S. Cyril's Commentary on S. John^d. It is the completest collection extant.

S. Cyril was my own early teacher on the connection of the doctrine of the Incarnation and the Holy Eucharist, which Hooker all but reached. It

^z in Photius Cod. 230. p. 272 Bekk. ^a Act. 10. p. 329. d. e.

^b Diss. 1^{ma} de hæresi et libris Nestorin, in his edition of Marius Mercator p. 319. ^c See below, p. 321 note.

^d S. Cyrilli in B. Joannis Evang. Vol. iii. è Typogr. Clar. 1872.

was at my wish that, in his uniform filial love, my son took as the central work of his life, to make the text of his works as exact as it could be made. For this he visited libraries in France, Spain, Italy, Germany, Russia, Mt. Athos, Cairo, Mt. Sinai, and applied to this the knowledge of Syriac, which he had perfected in view of another object which I had suggested to him, the re-editing of that now much undervalued Critical authority, the Peshito. Almighty God was pleased to break off the work "in the midst of the years." If in this completion of his Preface to his volume I have cleared any thing as to the self-forgetful, God-devoted character of my early Benefactor, S. Cyril, thanks be for this also to Him Who gave and Who took away.

E. B. P.

CHRISTMAS EVE, 1881.

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ERRATA.

p. 19, note k, col. 2, line 11, *before* in a slightly, *insert* as part of the Sixth Actio of the Council.

Ib. line 29, *for* A. D. 430 *read* A. D. 431.

p. 22, note o, line 4, *for* A. D. 430, *read* A. D. 429.

p. 57, note x, line 5, *for* § 26, *read* § 25.

p. 114, note h, line 3, *for* A. D. 430, *read* A. D. 429.

p. 189, note g, line 5, *for* of this John nothing else seems to be known, *read* see below, p. 321.

p. 298, marg., *for* Jer. xxiii. 6, *read* Jer. xxiii. 16.

p. 318, marg., *for* Bar. iii. 38, *read* Bar. iii. 37.

CYRIL

THE MOST HOLY ARCHBISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA

FIVE-BOOK CONTRADICTION OF THE BLASPHEMIES OF NESTORIUS

OR THE FIVE TOMES OF S. CYRIL.

Truth of human writings must be tested by Scripture. Arian errors and against Holy Ghost. Errors of heretics on their heads. Nestorius' book of Homilies. S. John i. 1, 3, 14, 18. True Union of Person. Mother of God. "Made Flesh;" Manichees have no plea; without it, the curse and decay would still have been our lot. "Mother of God" except it express a Truth, may no ways be allowed. 'Passed through,' objected to. To be Incarnate, belongs to one who was, before He was Man. "Mixture" of old used in right sense. One of Nestorius' sermons quoted as owning God and Man in one. *συνάφεια*. A mother, mother of a man, though the body only is taken of her. Elizabeth mother of S. John the Baptist. Eusebius of Dorylaeum opposes Nestorius in church. God the Son *had* two Births. The Creed of Nicea on the Incarnation. The Creed recited. Nestorius cites from that of Constantinople. "Incarnate" begotten after the flesh. If it did but mean indwelt it would be common to all. S. John's most careful accurate language. That the Virgin Mary bare God, does not exclude the Eternal Generation, nor render her an object of worship.

THOSE who wish to explore the holy Scripture and who drive away negligence in doing so, and thirst rather for the attainment thereof, and apply themselves vigorously and apart from all sloth—the being in every good shall be their's, for they fill their mind with the Divine Light: and then applying it to the doctrines of the Church, they admit every thing that is right and unadulterate, and that most readily, and lay it up in the hidden treasures of their soul, and rejoice as much in what they in their desire of knowledge have collected, as others who are worldly¹, in insatiably collecting Indian gems or gold, yea rather, yet more: *for wisdom is better than costly stones, and every precious thing is not worthy of her*, as it is written. For I say that they who are wise and prudent and skilled in the Divine doctrines, ought to remember what has been profitably written by one of the holy Disciples, *Brethren try the spirits whether they be of God*. And the Divine Paul says that to the saints has been given *discerning of spirits*.

¹τῶν κατὰ
τὸν βίον

Prov. viii.
11.

1 S. John
iv. 1.

1 Cor. xii.
10.

2 H. Scripture the test of all things. Price of the soul.

AG. NEST. For the one who say *Lord Jesus*, will say it none other-
 1 COR. xii. wise than *through the Holy Ghost*: and they who out of
 3. unlearning let loose a contradicting tongue against them,
 Ib. and wherein those think rightly, these all but say *Jesus*
Anathema, from Beelzebub will they do so. We must then
 2 διεσμι- studying to prove all things subtilly and in a finished
 λευμένως manner² and with mind awake, light on the writings
 of certain, and test skillfully what words they use of
 3 μεμω- Christ the Saviour of us all, and imitate, and that aright,
 μημένον, the most approved and experienced of money dealers, who
 subject to admit proved coin, and diligently reject the counterfeit
 μῶμος, and amiss³. And to this the blessed Paul invites us say-
 blame. ing, *Be ye skilful^a bankers, prove all things, hold fast that*
 1 Thess. which is good, abstain from every form of evil. And it is in
 v. 21, 22. other ways also all-disgraceful and unseemly, that in the
 affairs of this life we should be seen no whit sparing of
 what conduceth to profit, but rather make it of moment to
 aim and strive after those things whereby we may live
 splendidly, and neglect things so sacred and count for
 nothing the salvation of the soul, but let it sink down in
 pits and swamps, sometimes exposing unto the mere plea-
 sure of those who choose to say what they ought not, our
 mind, not vigilant⁴ for the truth, nor choosing to search
 4 ἀναμύ- diligently what is the true and profitable meaning of what
 οντα has been read, what the perverted one and that outsteps
 accuracy in doctrine and works loss in the soul that looks
 to it. Yet to the soul is there nought equal in value in their
 sight who are perfect in understanding.

We must try therefore and that most straitly, writings
 on the Divine doctrines, and if any should go along with
 the sacred Scriptures and speed its clear and most unerring
 way therein, let it be acclaimed⁵ by us too with testimonies
 5 κατακρο- to its orthodoxy: but if it form its language cold and
 τείσθω astray and amiss⁶, yea rather giver of destruction to the
 6 μεμω- readers, let it hear from every mouth, *But ye are uttering*
 μημένον Isa. xxx.
 10 LXX. and telling us another error^b.

^a *τρόφιμοι*, reared up, unless it be an error of the single Manuscript which has preserved to us this work for the usual *δόκιμοι*, approved. For the cita-

tion itself see Translation of S. Cyril's homilies on S. Luke by the Very Rev. R. P. Smith, p. 149 note y.

^b S. Cyril appears to take this not

Therefore *either let them make the tree good and his fruit good, or let them make the tree corrupt and his fruit corrupt; for the good man out of the good treasure of his heart bringeth forth good things, and the evil man out of the evil treasure of his heart bringeth forth evil things, according to the unlying word of the Saviour. For the god of this world blinded the understandings of the unbelieving heretics, lest the light of the gospel of the glory of Christ should shine: and they have been deceived manifoldly. For some (miserable!) say that the Word sprung of God the Father is lesser than He that begot Him, and have not shuddered at apportioning to Him an alien and slave-befitting measure; others, whetting against the Holy Ghost their unholy and intemperate mouth, do rightly hear the Prophet say, But draw ye near hither, ungodly sons, seed of the adulterers and the whore, against Whom did ye sport yourselves? and against Whom opened ye your mouth and on Whom let loose your tongue? are YE not children of destruction, a lawless seed? But these shall walk in their own light and find the flames that themselves kindled: for us whose care is orthodoxy, it is meet that we should give a wise and accurate account of each of the Divine doctrines and should shun the charges [put forth by] their unbridled mouth, lest in ought stumbling and sinning against the brethren and wounding their weak conscience, we sin against Christ. Let us therefore hearken unto Him Who saith, If the enemy had reproached Me, I could have borne it, and if he that hated Me had spoken proudly against Me, I would have hid Myself from him, but THOU, a man Mine intimate, My guide and My friend, who sweetenedst food together with Me, in the house of God we went in harmony. But let these things go upon the heads of the enemy, who war against the glory of our Saviour, and esteem blasphemy against Him, their delicate meat⁷: for us it is meet and necessary (as I said) that we, zealous to savour those things that please Him, should not follow [doctrine] which is alien from truth or which diverges in any other direction, and tends to decay, [but fol-*

imperatively as in the Septuagint but as Indicative: cf. in xii Prophetas 253 c, 278 a; in S. Joan. v. 34. viii. 38. [pp.

283 (where it should probably have been translated as here), 635 O.T.]

Book i. S. Matt. xii. 33. Ib. 35. 2 Cor. iv. 4. Isa. lviii. 3, 4. Ib. i. 11. 1 Cor. viii. 12. Ps. lv. 12--14. 7 τρυφήν

4 *S. John proclaims God the Son GOD: and become Man,*

AG. NEST. low] that which is for the good of our flock and is crowned by the Truth itself with testimonies to its rightness ^c.

Volume of Nestorius' sermons And this I say having met with a certain book compiled by some one, having a large collection of homilies, orderly and systematically arranged and in no wise lacking in due appliances for the reader. And if ought had been said by its author, which by passing into forgetfulness should come to nought, I would have deemed it a duty both myself to hold my peace and to counsel others to do the same; lest

⁸ ἐκτόπως things so unmeetly ⁸ and unheededly said should become known to many others, and to those after us. But since a multitude of blasphemies has been heaped into this book and some great accusation has been made, baying against the doctrines of the truth, how was it not necessary that we

⁹ ἀνταποδύσασθαι in turn should (so to say) strip for combat ⁹ and should fight in behalf of its readers, that they may not take harm thence, but may rather know how to repulse bravely the damage from what is unrightly said? For the Divine John was called

S. Mark iii. 17. by Christ the Saviour of us all *the Son of thunder*, and with reason, for that he well-nigh sounded forth o'er all beneath the heaven and thundered over the earth, uttering something vast and immense ¹. For he makes known full well the truly dread and mighty Mystery of the Incarnation of the Only-

¹ ἐξάσιον Begotten: for he said, *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God: all things were made through Him, and without Him was not any thing made.* But when he had made accurate and complete initiation ², and declared that the Only-Begotten being God and ineffably begotten of God by Nature, is Maker and Creator of all things; then, then, in fit season, does he at length begin the allwise economy that for our sakes and in our behalf was wrought, and says, *And the Word was*

Ib. 14. *made flesh and tabernacled in us (and we saw His glory, the glory as of the Only-Begotten of the Father) full of grace and truth.* For he said that the Word was *flesh*, shewing the force of the true union, i.e., understood as one "of Person ³:" and by saying that He *tabernacled in us*, he does not

^c The Greek as it stands is hardly translatable.

Volume of Nestorius' sermons

⁸ ἐκτόπως

⁹ ἀνταποδύσασθαι

S. Mark iii. 17.

¹ ἐξάσιον

S. John i. 1, 3.

² τετορο-νευμένην τήν μυσταγωγίαν

Ib. 14.

³ τῆς καθ' ὑπόστασιν νοουμένης see p. 19 note k

see 3 Epistles, pp. 56, 62, 63.

allow us to conceive that the Word which is out of ^d God Book i. by Nature passed into flesh which is of the earth. For one not thoroughly exact as to what the Divine Nature Which surpasses every thing generate is, might (I suppose) have deemed that It was haply recipient of change and could become regardless of Its own Essentially-accruing goods, and change (so to say) into something other than what It is, and be brought down to the measures of the creation, subjected in unlooked-for way to changes and alterations. But that this is utterly impossible (for the Nature of God is stablished and hath unshaken abidance in that wherein it is), he hath testified saying, that *the Word tabernacled in us*, albeit made flesh : both skilfully explaining the wisdom of the Economy and guarding full well that the Nature of the Word be not accused by any as though It had become flesh by change and turning aside.

We ourselves too then say, tracking the aim of the inspired, and in no way outstepping the definition of the Faith, that He Who is out of ^d God by Nature, *the Only-Begotten*, S. John i. 18. He *Which is in the Bosom of the Father*, He through Whom are all things and in Whom all things, albeit having before every age and time His Own Existence, and ever co-existing with Him Who begot Him, descended unto voluntary emptiness in the last times of the world, and took the servant's form, i.e., became in our condition and Man economically, and was *made like in all things unto His brethren*, God the Son makes His own the birth of His human nature Heb. ii. 17. by partaking similarly of *blood and flesh*, and that He thus 1b. 14. underwent birth with us and like us, and took into Himself the passing into being of His own Flesh, not as needing a second beginning unto being (for *the Word was in the beginning and was God*) but, that He might *gather together* Eph. i. 10. the human race, a second first-fruits of all things after that first one, born after the flesh of a woman, according to the Scriptures. For so being *Rich, became He poor*, bringing 2 Cor. viii. 9. us again unto His own wealth and having all in Himself All we in Him through the flesh which was united to Him. For thus

^d ἐκ. See "on the clause *And the Son*, in regard to the Eastern Church and the Bonn Conference," Oxford 1876. pp. 128 sqq.

AG. NEST. have we been *buried with Christ* through Holy Baptism,
Col. ii. 12. have been *raised* and made to *sit* with Him in heavenly
Eph. ii. 6. places.

1 Tim. the *herald and Apostle*, and minister of the Gospel ora-
ii. 7. cles, the most wise Paul. Necessary therefore, alike to the
faith of the Mystery and to the exact demonstration there-
of, is the fact of true Union⁴, I mean of Person, that the
mode of generation according to the flesh of the Only-Begotten may be without blame, Who was (as I said) called to no second existence (for Himself is the Maker of the worlds), but lowered Himself economically to manhood for our sakes, and despised not the laws of human nature but chose rather to have as His own together with the flesh the fleshly generation too. Therefore do we say that He was born after the flesh Who is ever Co-existent with the Father.

Rom. viii. For thus *condemned He sin in the flesh* and He hath brought
3. to nought the might of death in us, made as we, *Who knew*
2 Cor. v. *no sin, in Whom we live and move and are.*
21.

Acts xvii. But some (I know not how) wrong the most sacred
28. beauty of the dogmas of the Church and wrinkle the holy
cf. Eph. and all-pure Virgin, bringing her down to the unseemly
v. 27. rottenness of their own ideas and arming against us a multitude of new-fangled inventions. For they accuse, as something bastard and uncomely, yea rather as going beyond all fit language, the word *Mother of God*, which the holy fathers before us have constructed for the holy Virgin; and sunder, dividing into two several sons, the One Lord Jesus Christ, and take away from God the Word the sufferings of the Flesh, though not even we have said that He suffered in His own Nature, as God, but we attribute rather to Him along with the Flesh the Sufferings also that befel the Flesh, that He too may be confessed to be Saviour (for with His stripes were we healed, as it is written, and He has been wounded for our transgressions, albeit not recipient of suffering any wound): and we have been saved by His undergoing death for us through His own Body.

see 3
Epp. pp.
57, 64, 74.

Isa. liii.
5.

But I will essay to demonstrate clearly what I said, for I will now read the words of him who has compiled this book,

and first of all those which he made, inveighing in no slight terms against the word *Mother of God*. But since he repeatedly goes through the same words, and it is necessary that we should repeatedly go through the same ideas, pardon (I pray) pardon us who do not wilfully repeat ourselves but have resolved that in whatever direction the aim of his words goes off, thither we too ought to oppose. He then spake thus, debasing⁵ the title of the Holy Virgin, I mean *Mother of God*:
Book i. 1.
Θεοτόκος
ἡ κατακλι-
θεύων

Nestorius. „I often (he says) asked them (i. e., those who contradict him) „do you say that the Godhead has been „begotten of the holy Virgin? They straightway recoil at „the saying: who (says one) is sick of such exceeding blas- „phemy, as to say that in her who bare the temple by the „Spirit, in her was God formed? then when I reply to this, „What then that is incongruous do we say in advising to „flee the word, and come to the common phrase signifi- „cant of the two natures? then seems it to them that what „is said is blasphemy. Either clearly acknowledge that „the Godhead has been born of the blessed Mary, or if „you flee this expression as blasphemy, why saying the „same as I, dost thou feign thou sayest it not? „

They therefore who think contrary to what yourself said and think good (I know not how) to hold, these have been clearly testified to by your own mouth as having a right and most unerring opinion in regard to Christ the Saviour of us all, and as holding with their mind the faith which they had delivered to the churches *which from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word* and priests⁶ of our Mysteries and faithful stewards. For they shake off (and that most rightly) as a patent proof of unlearning alike and extremest impiety, the mere imagining that the Word from forth God the Father has been called unto a second beginning of being or took flesh of the holy Virgin as a root of His own existence^e: still they call her *Mother of God*, as having borne Immanuel Who is by Nature God:

^e see Dr. Newman's *μία φύσις σεσαρκωμένη*, in his Tracts Theological and Ecclesiastic, p. 322 Pickering 1876.

AG. NEST. for the Word has been made with us, being God by Nature and above us. Do they therefore say contrary to what they think? For some one of those who think with thee will (I suppose) say, „If thou say that the Nature of the Word „is not Offspring of the flesh, and free thyself from this „charge, how dost thou affirm that the holy Virgin bare „God?„ But thou in turn wilt hear from us, The God-inspired Scripture says that the Word out of God the Father

see p. 4.

⁷ καθ' ὅ-
πόσταςιν,
see below
p. 19 note
κ.

ally⁷ united to flesh: for not alien to Him is the Body which was united to Him and born of a woman, but as with each of us his body is his own, in this same way is the Body of the Only Begotten His own and none other's: for thus was He also born according to the flesh. Then how (tell me) would He have been made Flesh, except He had received birth of a woman, the laws of human nature calling Him thereto, and bodily existence being able no otherwise to have its beginning? For not (I suppose) giving heed to the juggleries⁸ of the Greeks, shall we too romance⁹ that the bodies of men are born of oak or rock: but our laws nature set us, yea rather nature's Creator, for as of each of existing things is the kin to it born, so of ourselves too, and no otherwise (how could it be?) For nought at all of what It willeth to accomplish is impracticable to the Divine and Ineffable Power, yet doth It proceed through what befits the nature of things that are, not dishonouring the laws set by Itself. And it were not impracticable to the Word That can do all things, having determined indeed for our sakes to become as we, yet to refuse the birth of a woman, and from without to fashion to Himself a body by His own Power, just as we say was done in the case of our forefather

⁸ τερρορε-
αίς

⁹ ῥαψω-
δήσους

Gen. ii. 7. Adam: for *God* took (it says) *dust of the ground* and *formed man*. But since this were occasion to the unbelievers who desire to accuse the Mystery of the Incarnation, and (before all) to the unholy Manichees, whom thou sayest over and over that thou fearest lest they should spring upon those who call the holy Virgin *Mother of God*, as though they were affirming that the Incarnation of the Word existed in mere phantasy; needs did Ile progress

through the laws of human nature, and since His aim was to assure all that He hath become truly Man, He *took hold of the seed of Abraham*, and the blessed Virgin being the mean to this same end, He *took part like us in blood and flesh*; for so and no otherwise could He become *God with us*. Most needful in another way too unto those on the earth was the Incarnation or Inhumanation¹ of the Word. For if He had not been born as we according to the flesh, if He had not taken *part like us of the same*, He would not have freed the nature of man from the blame [contracted] in Adam, nor would He have driven away from our bodies the decay, nor would the might of the curse have ceased which we say came on the first woman; for it was said to her, *In sorrows shalt thou bring forth children*.

Book i. l.
Heb. ii. 16.
Ib. 14.
¹ σάρκω-
σις ἡγουν
ἐνανθρώ-
πησις
Ib.

But the nature of man hath fallen into the disease of disobedience in Adam, it has become now approved in Christ through the utter obedience: for it is written, *As by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so too by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous*. For in Adam hath it suffered, *Dust thou art and unto dust shalt thou return*, in Christ hath it gained the riches of being able to be superior to the toils of death, and (so to say) to exult over² decay, saying those words of the Prophet, *O death, where thy victory? o grave, where thy sting?* it became accursed, as I said, but in Christ was this too brought to nought. And verily it has been said somewhere to the holy Virgin, Elizabeth prophesying in spirit, *Blessed art thou among women and blessed is the fruit of thy womb*. Sin hath reigned over us and the inventor and father of sins behaved himself proudly over³ all beneath the skies, objecting [to them] the transgression of the Divine Laws: but in Christ we see the nature of man, as in a second firstfruits of our race, having confidence with God. For He said clearly, *The prince of this world cometh, and in Me shall find nothing*.

Gen. iii. 16.

Rom. v. 19.

Gen. iii. 19.

² κατορ-
χέισθαι
1 Cor.
xv. 55.
from Hos.
xiii. 14.

S. Luke i. 42.

³ κατε-
σοβαρεύ-
ετο

S. John
xiv. 30.

But, good sir (would I with reason say) except the Only-Begotten had become as we, had become as we no otherwise than by means of birth in the flesh from forth a woman, we had not been enriched with what is His. For as the most

AG. NEST. wise Paul writeth to us, Emmanuel *the second Adam* hath
 1 Cor. xv. appeared to us, not from the earth like the first, but *from*
 47. *Heaven*. For the Word That is from above and from forth
 the Father hath come down not into the flesh of any one nor
 into alien flesh (as I already said), nor again hath He des-
 cended upon any one of those like us to dwell in him, as
 He was in the Prophets; but having made His own the body
 which was from forth a woman and born from her after the
 4 ἀνεκε-
 φαλαι-
 οὔτο
 Flesh, He gathered up ⁴ man's birth through Himself, made
 as we after the flesh, Who is before all ages from the Father.
 This confession of faith the Divine Scriptures delivered to
 — us. / But THOU feignest to fear lest any of us should sup-
 pose that the Word Begotten of God had the beginning of
 His Being from earthly flesh: thou takest away utterly
 the Mystery of the Economy with flesh, saying that the
 holy Virgin ought not to be called by us Mother of God :
 thou turnest round those who call her Mother of God unto
 a confession inevitable and as of necessity, of supposing
 that the Word out of God became fruit of flesh.) But it
 is not so, far from it. For He That hath His Being of
 God the Father before all time (for He is the Framer of
 ✓ the ages), in the last times of the age, since He became
 Flesh, is said to have been begotten after the flesh. For
 if the Body is conceived of as His own, how will He not
 wholly and entirely appropriate ⁵ the birth of His own
 5 οἰκειώ-
 σεται,
 make His
 own
 Body? Yea yourself too would have approved the right
 and undefiled faith of these who thus hold, if you would
 have persuaded yourself to reason and to confess that Christ
 is truly God, the One and Only of God the Father, not se-
 vered into man separately and likewise into God, but the
 Same, both Word out of God the Father and Man out of
 woman as we, while He abideth God.

But that thou dost accuse the Birth after the flesh of
 the Word, every way declaring two sons and dividing the
 One Lord Jesus Christ, shall be shewn not by my words
 but by thine own.

„Look what follows, heretic. I grudge not the word to

„the Virgin mother-of-Christ⁶, but I know that she is BOOK i. 2.
 „august who received God, through whom the Lord of all ⁶ χριστο-
τόκος
 „passed, and through whom the Sun of righteousness
 „beamed. Again I suspect your applause⁷: how did ye ⁷ κρότον,
see below
p. 26,
note s.
 „understand *passed through*? I have not said *passed*
 „*through*, in the sense of *born*, for not so quickly do I for-
 „get my own words: that God passed through from out the
 „Virgin mother of Christ was I taught by the Divine Scrip-
 „ture, that God was born from her, was I nowhere taught., /
 And after more; „Never therefore does the Divine Scripture
 „say that God was born of the mother of Christ, but that
 „Jesus, Christ, Son, Lord, [was so born].„ And hereto
 he subjoins that Christ was not truly God, but rather a
 God-bearing man, as he supposes, putting forward the
 Angel's voice saying to blessed Joseph, *Arise take the young* S. Matt.
ii. 13.
child, and says that the Angels too, though wiser than we,
 knew that He was a child.

Herein therefore he stiles heretic him who holds the right § 2
 and admirable faith about Christ, and who since He is truly
 God, calls her mother of God who bare Him. But there
 will be no doubt to any of those who think aright, that it
 is himself who, fastening the blame of heresies on them who
 choose to deem aright, is establishing the unbeauty of his
 own words, and has all but confessed openly that he is
 being borne outside of the straight way, and is making cf. Heb.
xiii. 13.
 crooked paths. Next how (tell me) do you not grudge
 this title to the holy Virgin, albeit you take away the dig-
 nity of the Divine Birth, and say that she is not *Mother of*
God? but debasing⁸ the expression and affirming that it ⁸ κατακιβ-
δηλεύων
 is full of blasphemy, how do you bid those who so will, to
 apply it to the holy Virgin (though I hear you call her
 august)? and then deem the so blasphemous word (as you
 alone think it) meet to adorn the most august one⁹, and ⁹ σεβασ-
μιωτάτη
 you feign to crown her, putting about her as some choice
 honour, a calumny¹ against God the Word? For if it be ¹ συκο-
φαντία
 wholly abhorrent to the Word Who is sprung of God to
 endure fleshly birth and you permit her who did not bear
 God to be called Mother of God, is it not true to say that

AG. NEST. you have openly depised the Lord's will? will you not be caught insulting rather the august one, than (as you suppose and say) electing to honour her, by allotting to her a name hated of God? For not² to those whom we determine to honour [do] we give names whereby the glory of the Supreme Nature is dishonoured, first of all we shall un-awares be involving our own selves in the charge of such impiety, next we shall do them no slight wrong, decking as if in honour those we praise with what is no praise, and weaving for them a laudation hated of God.

² *perh. if
for not*

One may moreover marvel at this too: that striking right and left at the words of the unholy heretics and in no wise allowing them to prevail, because they take away the truth of the Divine doctrines, next allotting no slight blame to the word Mother of God and accusing it amongst other things as untrue and impious, you said that you pardon it and will not grudge it to the Virgin even if one should choose to call her Mother of God. <Will you permit it therefore to those too who are diseased with the madness of Arius, to say that the Son is inferior to the Father? or again to the rest who bring down the Nature of the Holy Ghost from its God-befitting excellency? But you would not choose to do this; and if any one desire to learn why, you will (I suppose) surely say, I do not endure a blasphemous word. Hence if she be not Mother of God, and you permit this to be said, know that you are deserting the truth, and reckon little about any longer appearing wise. For do you not say that Elisabeth too or any other of the holy women is worthy of all reverence? will you then not grudge it, if any one choose to call them too *mothers of God*? But I suppose that you will surely and utterly withstand them and say, This is not so; for they bare sanctified men and none among them was God by Nature. Hence either drive away this from every woman; or if you allow the holy Virgin alone among all to have it, what words will you use for your defence? For if it be true of her and she has truly borne God, in that the Word of God has been made flesh, confess this with us, and you will free yourself

from the charge of impiety : but if she hath not borne God, Book i. 2.
to permit any to call her Mother of God is to partake of
their impiety. But she is Mother of God, because the
Only-Begotten has been made man as we, united of a truth
to flesh, and enduring fleshly birth and not dishonouring
the laws of our nature, as I said before. above
p. 8.

But since he says that he knows that she, i.e. the holy
Virgin, is august, come I pray come let us consider the
reason too of the reverence that was done her : „for I
„know (he says) that she is august, ^fthrough whom the
„Lord of all passed, through whom the Sun of righteous-
„ness beamed., How then do you say that she received
God? or in what way did the Lord of all pass through
her? or how beamed the Sun of righteousness? For if
she hath not borne God, after the flesh I mean, how re-
ceived she God? how passed He through her? But haply
you will say this wise word of yours as you think and dare
to speak it „ The Word was God both connected ³ with ³συννη-
„man and indwelling him., But the tradition of the faith ^{μέγας}
makes itself ready against ⁴ your words as to this, No ⁴ἀνταπο-
God-bearing man, but God Incarnate have we been taught ^{δύεται}
to worship : but not so speakest strips for
the contest
with (as p.
4. ref. 9) 5 παρρη-
μαίνων,
not see that you are babbling and falsely marking ⁵ the truth ^{stamping}
that is in the Divine dogmas? For the Word has been made <sup>with coun-
terfeit im-
pression</sup> flesh. How did you now say that she received God except
you have believed that she hath borne Emmanuel Who is
God by Nature? how passed the Lord of all through her and
how beamed the Sun of righteousness? And who is he that
you think fit to embellish by such names? is he a common
man, like one of us, yet hallowed, as having the Word of
God indwelling? Then how will such an one be Lord of all,
and Sun of righteousness? For the power of lordship and
dominion over all and of illumining things possessing in-
telligence⁶, will pertain not to our measures, but will be
attributed to the Supreme and Most High Nature alone. 6 τὰ νο-
ητὰ

¹ The words, *who received God*, al-
luded to immediately after, appear to
have dropped out of the single existent
Manuscript. The passage is one of
those cited before the council of Ephe-

sus (Act. i. t. iii. 1064 ed. Col.), and
translated by Marius Mercator, p. 202
ed. Bal. Mercator seems to translate
less correctly, *conceived*.

14 GOD the SON in all through the SPIRIT : thus in Elizabeth.

AG. NEST. But since taking (I know not whence) the word *passed through*, you have applied it to God, explain the word; the meaning of the *passage through* here spoken of, will belong to your wisdom to tell us who know it not. For if the Word of God so passed through her, as to pass from one place to another, you cast Him down forthwith; for

Jer. xxiii. 24. you will hear Him saying by the voice of the saints, *Do not I fill Heaven and earth saith the Lord?* For not in place is the Godhead nor knoweth It bodily changes of place, for it filleth all things. But if while awaiting the fit

⁷ σχετικῶν, not essential, but as in other holy men. period of birth, He made an incidental⁷ indwelling in man, and so you say that God made passage through the holy Virgin, or *passed through* her (for I will use in all thy holy words): we see nought in the holy Virgin more than in other women. For Elisabeth bare the blessed Baptist who had been hallowed through the Spirit through Whom the Son Himself also makes His abode in us. And the wise

1 S. John iv. 13. John will witness saying, *Hereby know we that He is in us, because He gave us of His Spirit.* The Word of God therefore passed through Elisabeth herself too, indwelling in the babe through the Spirit even before its birth.

But you feel suspicious of the applause as though it came to you from the people for having chosen to speak right things? for having called Him Who was born of the holy Virgin Sun of righteousness and Lord of all; you then

⁸ ἀκριβοῶς λογιέσθαι again feign to speak with precision⁸, and find fault with the applause, and accuse again those who are rejoicing over you of not having understood. O great strength which is in your words! you have made no delay in the needed

cf. Ps. xxx. 11. vexing of them, you turned straightway their joy into mourning, you rent off their rejoicing and girt them with sackcloth, straightway adding, „Again I suspect your applause, how did ye understand passed through? I have „not said *passed through* in the sense of *was born*, for not „so quickly do I forget my own words. That God passed „through from out the Virgin Mother of Christ, was I „taught by the Divine Scriptures, that God was born of „her, was I no where taught. „

Those therefore are thy perverted sayings; the applause Book i. 2. was of love, in that your mind had some guise of orthodoxy. But I will press on now too no less and say, What is *passed through*, if it mean not birth? will you say that the Word out of God Himself by Himself and apart from flesh hastened through ⁹ the Virgin? yet how would not this be replete ⁹ διήλασε with all folly? For it would be necessary to suppose that the Godhead were recipient of quantity ¹, and of movement ¹ πεπο-σῶσθαι which bears from one place to another; or if the Godhead be unembodied, at large ² and everywhere, and not in place and circumscribed, how will it pass through a single body? But whatever it be that you are saying, how do you not need to clear it up and say it more openly, if confident in your own opinions about it, you are able to testify to their incorruption? where (I pray) have you heard the God-inspired Scripture say that the Word of God passed through the holy Virgin? For that brief and contracted is the life of those upon earth, the blessed David taught saying, *Man,* Ps. ciii. 15, 16. *his days as grass, as a flower of the field so he flourisheth; for the wind passeth through him and he shall not be,* but of the holy Virgin what thing of this sort can you say has been written? That God has been born of her, after the flesh I mean, God-inspired Scripture has clearly shewn.

But I will go again to your own words, O all-excellent, ³ πανά-ριστε for you have yourself too confessed and this most often that the Word has been made Flesh, and you reject it not. And this too you say besides: for you say that the Godhead of the Only-Begotten was clearly and openly Incarnate. You have written in this wise,

„Thus it says elsewhere too, *He spoke to us in His Son* Heb. i. 2,
 „*Whom He appointed Heir of all things through Whom also* ^{3.}
 „*He made the worlds, Who being the Brightness of His Glory:* serm. 2. p. 59 Bal.
 „having put Son, it calls Him fearlessly both *Brightness of*
 „*His Glory*, and appointed *Heir*; *Heir*, appointed after the
 „*Flesh, Brightness of the Father's Glory* after the Godhead:
 „for He departed not, made flesh, from likeness to the Fa-
 „ther. And in addition it again says thus, *for the times of* Acts xvii. 30, 31.
 „*ignorance God winked at, but now commandeth all men to*
 „*repent, because He fixed a Day in which He will judge*

AG. NEST. „the world by the Man Whom He appointed, having given
 „assurance unto all men in that He raised Him from the
 „dead. Having first said, *By the Man*, he then adds, *In*
 „that He raised Him from the dead, that no one might sup-
 „pose that the Godhead Incarnate had died. „

§ 3 Who then is He Who was Incarnate, or in what way was
 He incarnate, what Godhead was incarnate, tell (O most
 excellent sir) to us who would learn it. Shall we grant that
 the Word, God out of God, was Incarnate, and say that He
 was made Man, as having been made as we and born in
 flesh? or shall we allow this in no wise, but suppose that a
 man came hereto, connected with God, according to thee?
 But you will (I suppose) say, that it is better and wise to
 think that the Word out of God was Incarnate and made
 flesh, according to the Scriptures: for one is not I suppose
 seen assuming that wherein one is, but if one come some-
 how to be in that wherein one was not at first, reason will
 forthwith admit that something new has been wrought re-
 garding him. Hence it is unlearned to say that any of us
 having stepped forth of the definitions of human nature
 have been incarnate and been made flesh; but the Incarna-
 tion, or being made flesh, will beseem (and that with much
 reason) the Nature That is beyond humanity. But if He
 was truly Incarnate and has been made flesh, He is accre-
 dited as Man⁴, and not connected with a man, by mere
 indwelling or external relation or connection, as you say.
 Yet even though He became Man, He possesseth the being
 God in all security⁵, nor do we say that any change took
 place of the flesh into the Nature of Godhead, and we hold
 that neither did the reverse take place, for the nature of the
 Word hath remained what it is even when united to flesh.
 What no one therefore even in bare idea thinks of hold-
 ing, why do you putting this in your book⁶, as though ac-
 tually uttered, pretend to be contending for the doctrines
 of piety? For the name *mixture*⁷, some of the holy fathers
 too have put: but since you say that you are afraid lest
 any confusion be deemed to take place, as in the case of
 liquids mingled with one another, I rid you from your fears,

⁴ ἄνθρω-
 πος δὴ ποῦ
 νοεῖσθαι
 πεπίστευ-
 ται

⁵ ἀναπό-
 βλητον

⁶ see be-
 low, p. 33,
 note b.

⁷ κράσεως. See Tertullian, p. 48 O. T. note h.

for not so did they deem (how could they?) but they used Book i. 3. the word improperly, anxious to declare the extreme union ⁷ τὴν εἰς ἄκρον ἐνωσιν of the things that had come together; and we say that the Word of God came together with His proper Flesh, in union indissoluble and unalterable. And we find that the God-inspired Scripture itself too, does not look minutely ⁸ οὐ σφόδρα τὴν λέξιν ἐκ- βασανίζουσιν into the word ⁸, but uses it rather improperly and simply. And verily the Divine Paul hath written of some, *But the Word preached did not profit them, who were not mixed* ^h *in faith with its hearers.* Were they of whom he spoke going to be mixed one with another, after this fashion, as wine with water, and to undergo a confusion of persons, or were they rather to be united in soul, as it is written in the Acts of the holy Apostles, *And of the multitude of* Acts iv. 32. *them that believed was the heart and the soul one?* But this I suppose is the truth, not the other. Be free then from all fear on this score, for firmly established is the mind of the saints.

But since to say that the Nature of the Word was Incarnate is (I deem) nought else than to hold that It has been made Man and not without birth of woman (for this only way does the nature of human bodies know of), how were you not taught by the God-inspired Scripture the Birth ^{above p. 14.} after the flesh of the Only-Begotten? albeit yourself too, when the prophetic lessons were before you, *Unto us a Child* Isa. ix. 6. *was born, unto us a Son was given,* say thus of the Child that was born, „Great the mystery of the gift, for this is „the Babe That is seen, this the new-born That appears, „this that needed bodily swaddling bands, this the just- „born after the Essence that is seen, in the hidden part ⁱ „Everlasting Son, Son Creator of all, Son Who by the „swaddling-bands of His own aid binds the instability of „the creation. „ And elsewhere again, „And the Babe

^h The reading of almost all Greek MSS. and citations seems to lie between the forms συγκεκραμένους and συγκεκρασμένους: the Codex Sinaiticus is apparently one of the very few extant Greek MSS. which agrees with the received Text in giving the nominative case. In S. Cyril's Glaphyra, 394 a,

συγκεκραμένους appears in the Edition, but MSS. of any account give συγκεκρασμένους and συγκεκραμένους.

ⁱ in the hidden part. So I have amended, correcting κατὰ τὸ κεκρυμμένον from S. Cyril's quotation a little below for the κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον of the old editions.

AG. NEST „is God All-free, so far removed is God the Word, O „Arius, from being subject to God.,, In which words he styled even the body connected with Him God. And again, „We recognise therefore the human nature of the Babe „and His Godhead, we preserve the oneness⁹ of the Sonship „in the nature of manhood and Godhead.,, Lo here with all clearness you say that the Babe, the just-born, the visible, the new-born, the swaddled, is Son and Creator of all; and the Babe the holy Virgin hath borne to us. You know therefore that God has been born after the flesh, and this you have learnt out of the God-inspired Scripture. For who will be conceived to be Creator of all, save He alone through Whom the Father hath made all?

But I said (you will haply say) „in the secret part Son „and Creator of all.,, Well, I agree, but I will ask you : You say that the hidden is the Word of God and that this is the Creator of all: how then did you but now point out as with your finger the Babe just-born and new-born and in swaddling clothes, and called this same both Son of God and Creator of all? or do you haply suppose that the Word out of God has been transformed into the nature of the flesh, and accuse yourself, not others, of daring to say this? Surely if the Babe be the hidden Son and Creator of all, and have been born of the holy Virgin, you have acknowledged with us even against your will that she is Mother of God in some unlooked-for way, since how is a babe God all-free? For if you use the word, all-free¹, in the sense in which each one of us too may be so conceived, as entrusted by God with the reins of his own free-will, what is there special in Him beyond the rest? or why do you put about Him the freedom², as some God-befitting and truly choice Dignity? albeit it is in the power of all upon the earth to possess it and indeed they already have it. But if the freedom here signify the being not subject to the laws of another, and He be free in such sort as the Divine Nature itself too is conceived of, how do you say that the new-born Babe is in case so august and befitting only the Supreme Nature and glory? albeit that all which is called into being

⁹ τὸ μοναδικόν

see p. 16.
¹ αὐτεξούσιον

² τὸ αὐτεξούσιον

is subject unto God and runs under the yoke of bondage. Book i. 3. But you will perchance deem that that empty word^k of

^k This word *συνάπτω* and its noun *συνάφεια*, S. Cyril had used long before to express the kind of Union which Christ gives us with Himself. S. Cyril says, "For as elsewhere He says that He is a *Vine, we the branches*, shewing that not alien nor of other kind are the branches from the Vine but of it by nature, so here He says that He is our *foundation* (1 Cor. iii. 11) in order to shew the natural kindship to Him when He was made man, of them which are built upon Him. For then are we *connected* (*συναπτόμεθα*) with Him by nature too, and suspended as it were from our relation to Him as the branches from the vine, we bear the fruit of piety to God-ward," *Thes.* cap. 15. p. 171 c d. "If on receiving Christ's Spirit we are through It brought near to God the Father, as made partakers of His Divine Nature, how is It a thing made, through which *we are connected* (*συναπτόμεθα*) with God as being now His offspring?" *Thes.* cap. 34 p. 360 D. And in his treatise de Trinitate written more than five years before this date, S. Cyril says, "Nor could human nature any otherwise have been partaker of the Divine Nature, had it not gained this through the Son as Mediator, receiving it as a natural (*φυσικὸν*) mode of *connection* (*συναφείας*)," *Dial.* i. p. 406 a: "we are temples of the Spirit Who existeth and is, we are called therefore gods as being participant with the Divine and Ineffable Nature, by connection (*συναφεία*) with It," *Dial.* 7 p. 639 fin. Of God the Son's union with His human nature, S. Cyril says, "But that the Son was Lord, before His concurrence with flesh and His *connection therewith through union* (*καὶ τῆς καθ' ἑνώσειν συναφείας*) we shall see without any trouble," *Dial.* 6. p. 605 d. S. Cyril then used the word to denote our union with Christ in which our own personality is preserved to us entire. When he speaks of the Incarnation in which God the Son's human nature was so made His own, by Union with Him, as to have no distinct or separate personality, S. Cyril uses *connection by way of union*, a connection that makes the Two natures but One.

Nestorius on the other hand following his own earlier teaching speaks of a connection between God the Son and His human nature no closer than that of any holy person with Christ.

The empty word is found in the creed against which Charisius priest and steward of the Church in Philadelphia

brought a complaint before the Council of Ephesus (t. iii. 1205 sqq. ed. Col.), and of which Marius Mercator gives a Latin Translation (see *On the Clause And the Son*, pp. 76, 77 and note): he gives it at pp. 41 sqq. ed. Baluz. with the heading, *Now the setting forth of the corrupt faith of the above mentioned Theodore*, and further on, pp. 186 sqq. when giving the session that was holden about Charisius, he gives it over again in a slightly different translation with the heading *Nestorian Creed*. This Theodore to whom it is attributed was a contemporary of S. Chrysostom about half a century before and was Bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia.

To this empty word S. Cyril opposed his *Personal Union* (*καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἑνώσις*). Fleury (*Ecl. Hist.* Bk. 25 § 8 fin.) speaks of, as the first place in which he has met the expression S. Cyril's 2nd Letter (the first Œcumenical Letter) to Nestorius in which he says, "The Word having united to Himself Personally flesh ensouled with a rational soul" (see 3 Epistles Parker 1872 p. 56). In the final Letter which S. Cyril and his Council of Alexandria wrote A. D. 430 to Nestorius were appended 12 Anathemas which Nestorius was required to sign (3 Epistles p. 68). These Anathemas or Chapters were much misunderstood by John Archbishop of Antioch, and his suffragans in Cilicia, Palestine, Euphratesia &c, who thought that they contained Apollinarian error; Liberatus who wrote about 125 years after tells us in his *Breviarium* (cap. 4 Gallandi *Bibl. Patr. Vet.* xii. 127) that John of Antioch "sent to Andrew and Theodoret, Bishops of his Council to reply in writing to the 12 chapters as renewing the dogma of Apollinaris." Theodoret too in sending his replies back to John sends him a letter beginning, "I was greatly grieved on reading the Anathemas which you sent me, bidding me answer them in writing and lay bare to all their heretical meaning." S. Cyril defended his Anathemas or Chapters against the exceptions made by Andrew and Theodoret separately: in the close of his Letter to his Priest Eulogius, his Proctor at Constantinople, he says that he sends the Provost (inter alia) copies of his answers to each of these Bishops. The second chapter begins, "If any confess not that the Word out of God the Father has been *united to flesh Personally, καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἑνωσθαι*," No possible misunderstanding of this term, *Personal Union, united Personally*, seems

AG. NEST. yours suffices unto all this, that I mean in respect of the natures being connected one with another, and that, not Personally, but rather in honour unvarying [in each] and equality of rank: for this is what you are always unlearnedly saying to us. But that in saying such things, you will be caught to be staying yourself upon rotten and fragile conceptions, will be shewn and not at length, when opportunity offers to us to speak upon this too.

But to these he subjoins some others by which he deems that he can shew and that skillfully that the mode of a generation like ours is unmeet³ and impossible. And our words he arrays against himself, and deems that he can over-master them easily and shew that they are nothing although they set forth the truth. He says thus:

³ ἀκαλλῇ

„‘If Christ (says he¹) be God, and Christ be born of the „‘blessed Mary, how is not the Virgin mother of God?’ I „hide none of their objections: for the lover of the truth „takes and objects to himself all that comes of the false-

to have occurred to S. Cyril, for in his Explanation of his Chapters made at the request of the Synod in order that they should be clearer (as the title tells us), during the days while the Council was awaiting its dismissal, as Alexander of Hierapolis writes to Constantinople to John of Antioch, S. Cyril does not allude to this. There is no trace of Andrew Bishop of Samosata having written against this 2nd chapter nor against the fifth and sixth: so probably no objection occurred to him either. Nor does Eutheries bishop of Tyana in his Letter to John of Antioch, running briefly through the chapters, except against the *Personal Union*. Theodoret objects to the term, *Personal Union*, from its novelty and from its appearing to imply mixture. Again in his letter to the monks of Euphratesia, Osroene, Syria, Phoenicia and Cilicia, giving briefly his objections to some of the chapters, he repeats that the expressions *Personal Union* and *concurrency* (συνόδον) by *Natural Union*, teach some mixture and confusion of the Form of God and the form of the servant (Ep. 151 p. 1292 fin.) In answer to Theodoret's objection to the second chapter (written perhaps but a few weeks after this present treatise,) S. Cyril explains the term and says, *Seeing that Nestorius is always undoing the birth after the flesh of God the Word and insinuating merely an union of dignities and saying that man*

is connected (συνῆφθαι) with God, honoured with the co-name of Sonship; needs do we opposing his words say that a Personal Union took place, Personal (καθ' ὑπόστασιν) having no other meaning than only that the nature or Person of the Word, i.e. the Word Himself, united in truth to human nature, apart from any turning and confusion (as we have full often said) is conceived of and is, One Christ, the Same God and Man.

S. Cyril uses the word habitually e.g. it occurs five times in his Treatise to the Princesses Arcadia and Marina on the right faith: he uses also other like expressions, *true union, true and Natural Union, inseverable, indissoluble*. S. Eulogius, one of S. Cyril's successors in his see (A. D. 581) and a contemporary of Pope S. Gregory, in his famous explanation that the Council of Ephesus forbade oppositions to, not definitions of, the Faith, alludes to this expression and says, *For it [the Council of Ephesus] does define what none before it defined. Nay its ἡ καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἔνωσις is a definition not made by the elder Synods.* (S. Eulogius in Phot. Bibl. cod. 230 translated in the above-cited On the clause, *And the Son* in regard &c. p. 80.)

¹ i. e. Nestorius is citing S. Cyril himself in his letter to the monks; see Epp. p. 3 d, and S. Cyril's reply just below, *is that blamed by you which has been said by us?*

„hood;,, and then he endeavours to apply the solution, using some such conceptions as these. „For the babe (he says) „is formed in the womb, but so long as it have not yet „been formed, it hath no soul, but being formed at length, „it has a soul made it of God. As then the woman bears „the body, God ensouls it ⁴, and the woman is not called ⁴ ψυχῶι „mother of soul, because she bare a man endowed with „soul, but rather mother of man, so (he says) the blessed „Virgin too, even though she have borne a man, the Word „of God passing forth along with him,, (for this word did he use) „not therefore is she mother of God.,,

Is therefore (tell me) that blamed by you which is said by § 4 us? does it seem right to you without understanding to find fault with what is so rightly and purely ⁵ said, and do ⁵ ἀκίβδη-
λως you not rather attach the blame of not being able to think aright to your own understanding? For they to whom the truth is repugnant ⁶, to them will belong (and too readily) ⁶ ἀπάδοι the receptivity of what is not so, and the rebuke of those who are wont to speak most excellently ⁷, will not ⁷ ἀριστο-
επεῖν be without its harm, yea rather will be even a manifest demonstration of the having declined unto falsehood and of choosing to honour what it would be more right to hate, in that one has missed of right reason. But no man, having conceived of things so base. . . ^m, he said that himself was the lover of the truth, and that we had contrived the lie; albeit one may see on the contrary that ours is right and true. For the advocate of the lie and fraud endeavours to fasten the blame of his falsehood on the champions of the truth, haply driven to forgetfulness of the Prophet who says, *Woe unto them that call evil good and good evil, that put* Isa. v. 20. *darkness for light and light for darkness.*

But I will endeavour to shew by the example adduced by him that he does not even clearly know what he is saying. For flesh confessedly is born of flesh, and the Artificer of all performs the ensouling ⁸ in the mode and ⁸ ψύχω-
σιν way that He knows. Yet is the woman who bears, albeit

^m The Roman Editors of the Concilia, who first published this treatise in 1608, conjectured that οὐδείς, no one, might be a slip for οὐδέν, nothing, trans-

lating, *But with no thought of how base these things are.* Perhaps some words have slipped out.

AG. NEST. she is the source of the flesh only, believed to bear the whole man, made up (I mean) of soul and body, although she contribute nothing of her own to the being of the soul. Yet when one says *man*, one signifies surely the soul united to the body. As therefore the woman, albeit she bear the body alone, is said to bear him that is made up of soul and

⁹ λόγοις

¹ τὸ νεώ-
τερον, as
the Arians
feigned

Hab. iii.
2. LXX.

body, and this no wise damages the account⁹ of the soul, as though it found in flesh the origin of its beingⁿ; so will you conceive as to the blessed Virgin too: for even though she be mother of the holy Flesh, she hath nevertheless borne God the Word out of God truly united thereto^o, and though any call her Mother of God, he will not be defining a more recent beginning¹ of God the Word nor that the flesh hath been made the commencement of His Being: but will understand rather the mode of the economy and wondering at it will say, *O Lord, I have heard Thy hearing and was afraid, I considered Thy works and was astonished.*

But our all-wise and prudent expounder, having pondered the force of the example says, „ Thus the holy Virgin too, „ even though she hath borne man, God the Word passing „ along with him, yet not therefore is she Mother of God: „ for not from the blessed Virgin was the Dignity of the „ Word, but He was God by Nature.”

What therefore is the meaning of, that the Word passed
see p. 14. forth along with the flesh, he alone knows, but I marvel
² ἀκρι-
βείας much at his subtil refinement². For the word of truth

ⁿ ὡς σάρκα τὴν τῆς ἰδίας ὑπάρξεως λαμβανούσης ἀρχήν.

^o See S. Ath. against Arians, iii. § 29 p. 440. O.T. note e. where this passage is translated. S. Cyril in his 16th Paschal homily, about this same time (A.D. 430) says, “ Yet He was (as I said) God in the manhood too, allowing to the nature that is ours to advance through its own laws, yet along therewith preserving the genuineness of the Godhead: for thus and no otherwise will both the bairn (τὸ τέχθέν) be conceived of as by Nature God, and the Virgin which bare will be said to be mother, not of flesh and blood simply, like the mothers with us, but of the Lord and of God Who hath hidden Himself under our likeness.” . . . “ For as the Precious and all-holy Flesh which was forth of the holy Virgin hath become the own of the Word who is forth of God

the Father, so too all things beseeeming the flesh save only sin: but chiefly and before all else will birth of a woman beseeem the flesh. Hence the Godhead by Itself if it be conceived of apart from flesh will be ‘without mother’ and that full rightly: but when the mystery Christ-ward is brought forward, the truth as to this will be other and subtil exceedingly. For we shall deem, if we choose to think aright and go the most unerring way, that the Virgin bare not bare (γυμνὸν) Godhead but rather the Word from forth of God the Father, Incarnate and United to flesh, she who was taken to aid in bearing *after the flesh* Him who was united to flesh. Emmanuel therefore is God: and mother of God will she too be called who bare *after the flesh* God who for our sakes appeared in flesh.” t. v. ii. pp. 227, 228.

sets forth that the Word of God has been Personally united BOOK i. 5. to the Flesh; and he keeps affirming the passing forth along with³, meaning I know not what. Next, when our ^p discus- ³ τὸ συμ-
παρελθεῖν sion was all about nature and Personal Union, and aimed at enquiring not what the Word out of God is in respect to Dignity, but whether He has been made Man economi- see Letter
to Monks
12 sqq. cally, making His own the flesh born of a woman: he removing the question to quite other matters says, „Not from „the holy Virgin was the Dignity of the Word, but He was „God by Nature: „albeit how are not Dignity and Nature two entirely different things? But our discourse hereupon does not need overmuch skill⁴: we must therefore see what comes next. For he fortifies yet another outpost against what has been said by us, as he thinks invincible and competent to shew with all force that the Birth out of woman of Emmanuel is empty talk⁵ of ours: he says again thus, ⁴ ἱσχυο-
μυθίας

⁵ ὕθλον

„The blessed John Baptist is fore-heralded by the holy „Angels, that the babe *shall be filled with the Holy Ghost* S. Luke
i. 15. „even from his mother's womb, and having the Holy Ghost, „was this blessed Baptist born. What then? call you „Elizabeth mother of the Spirit? apply your mind here, „although there be some among you who are startled at „what is said, pardon their inexperience.,,

And who on hearing such words will not straightway § 5 say in Prophet's voice, *For the fool will utter folly and his heart will conceive vanity, to accomplish iniquity and to utter error against the Lord?* Isa. xxxii.
6. LXX. For error confessedly is it and nought else, to trust in such frigid and childish thoughts as though they were true. One may then marvel at him for his gentleness, for he said that they ought to be esteemed worthy of pardon and clemency who had no acquaintance with those words of his: yet were it a thing thrice-longed for by us ourselves (if so be), yea rather by all too who are Christians; for how should not all long to be rid from words so burdensome⁶ and perverse? But we say this: ⁶ μολογη-
ρῶν

^p i. e. S. Cyril's Letter to the Monks, above-cited, which Nestorius was in part contradicting in the sermon to which the extract belongs.

AG. NEST. Elizabeth hath confessedly borne the blessed Baptist anointed in the womb with the Holy Ghost: and if it had been any where said by the God-inspired Scriptures, that the Spirit too was made flesh, rightly would you have said that she ought to be called by us mother of the Spirit; but if the bairn ⁷ is said to have been honoured with bare anointing only, why deem you it right to put the fact⁸ of incarnation on an equal footing with the grace of participation? for it is not the same thing, to say that the Word was made flesh and that one has been anointed through the Spirit with prophetic spirit. For of the holy Virgin it is written, *Behold a Virgin shall conceive and bear a Son*, and He who is born is called the fruit and moreover Emmanuel, *which being interpreted is, God with us*; but of Elizabeth, *she shall bear a son who shall go before Him in the spirit and power of Elias*, and *shall go before the face of the Lord to prepare His ways*. By no means therefore is Elizabeth mother of the Spirit, for she bare a *prophet of the Highest*: but the holy Virgin is truly mother of God⁹, for she hath borne carnally, i. e., according to the flesh, God united to flesh. For since she is human who bare, therefore and rightly do we say that the mode of generation has been wrought in human wise; for thus and no otherwise was it possible that He Who is over all nature could become as we, not slighting the being what He is (how could He?) but rather abiding what He was and is and will be: for superior to change is the Divine and Most High Nature.

AG. NEST. see Letter to Monks p. 8 e.

⁷ τὸ τέκνον
⁸ τὸ χροῖμα
⁹ μα

Isa. vii. 14.

S. Matt. i. 23.
S. Luke i. 13.
Ib. 17.
Ib. 76.

Ib.

chap. 1

⁹ S. Cyril uses exactly the same expression in his Letter to the Monks (Epp. 8 c) and in the first of the chapters that he appended to his great Letter to Nestorius (see note k), "If any confess not that Emmanuel is God in truth and consequently the holy Virgin Mother of God: for she hath borne after the flesh the Word from forth of God made flesh, be he anathema." But the word *carnally* or *after the flesh* was not understood by many: e. g. Andrew Bishop of Samosata thought that it contradicted the miraculous Birth from a virgin. S. Cyril explains his meaning in his reply to Andrew; "we said that the Virgin bare the Word of God made flesh according to the Scriptures, i. e. Man: bare Him carnally,

i. e. according to the flesh. . . . Saying *according to the flesh* is not taking away the miraculousness of the Birth . . . but teaches that as God begets Divinely or in God-befitting manner according to His own Nature, so too man humanly or flesh carnally." Def. xii capp. adv. Episc. orient. cap. 1. p. 160 d e. See also below Schol. § 31. & above p. 22. note o. Theodoret's objection to S. Cyril's first chapter is of a different kind and is identical with that of Nestorius (above p. 7, below p. 33 and note b): the notion that γεννήθηκε, *she hath borne*, necessitates the conversion of the Godhead into flesh. In Andrew's case, the meaning of the word *carnally* was misunderstood, in Theodoret's, the word was apparently unnoticed.

That we therefore think aright in affirming that God Book i. 5.
 has been born according to the flesh for the salvation of all,
 God-inspired Scripture hath testified: but since to his most
 novel dogmas he opposes the truth and the very symbol
 of the Church's Faith, which the fathers once gathered
 together at Nicea through the illumination of the Spirit
 defined; he, fearing lest any should keep whole the Faith,
 instructed unto the Truth by their words, endeavours to
 calumniate ⁹ it and alters the significance of the words, and
 dares to coin with false stamp ¹ the very force of its ideas.
 For while himself in the midst of the Church was using
 profane babblings ², a certain man ^r of those who were of

⁹ συκο-
φαντεῖν
¹ παρα-
σημαίνειν,
p. 13, ref.
² καινο-
φωρίαις
κενο-
φωρίαις

^r Eusebius an Advocate at Constantinople; he afterwards put out a protest addressed to the Clergy and Laity of that City (Conc. Eph. part. i. cap. 13 t. iii. 888 ed. Col.) that Nestorius was reviving the false teaching of Paul of Samosata, condemned nearly two centuries before (Marius Mercator, whose translation into Latin of S. Cyril's Defences of his 12 chapters or Anathemas against Nestorius' errors and of his Scholia on the Incarnation, has come down to us, likewise put out a paper of like kind, Opera pp. 50 sqq. ed. Baluz 1684). Many years on we read of Eusebius, as Bishop of Dorylaeum in Phrygia, as a friend of Eutyches, but after fruitless efforts to reclaim him, also his accuser before S. Flavian, Archbishop of Constantinople. In November 448, a Synod was called of Bishops who chanced from one cause or another to be there: these amounted to thirty. The circumstance of Constantinople being the capital of the Eastern Empire occasioned Bishops to be often there. (The Archbishop of Alexandria though apparently he had habitually one of his Deacons there, as a sort of deputy, or Proctor, in the Imperial City, seems on more especial occasions to have had a Bishop there: e.g. S. Cyril sent his great Synodal Letter to Nestorius by four Bishops, Theopemptus, Daniel, Potamon and Comarius: of these Theopemptus Bishop of Cabasa and Daniel Bishop of Darnis, went to Ephesus and voted in the Council: Potamon and Comarius remained at Constantinople, for one of S. Cyril's earliest Letters after the Council (Epp. p. 84) was directed to them conjointly with the great Archimandrite Dalmatius, the Priest Eulogius, S. Cyril's Proctor, and another. A brief letter of S. Cyril's

written a few days later (pp. 91 sq.) when he was in ward at Ephesus, is directed to Theopemptus, Potamon and Daniel. Fleury (bk. 26 § 3) suggests that Theopemptus and Daniel went back to Constantinople with Letters from the Council.) Before this Synod the Bishop Eusebius accused Eutyches, who was condemned. The August of the next year, 449, the Robber-Council of Ephesus deposed S. Flavian (whose Martyrdom followed immediately for he was driven into exile to Epipa in Lydia and died there) and Eusebius. Eusebius was likewise ejected from his See and stayed at Rome as Pope S. Leo tells the Empress Pulcheria in a letter (S. Leo ad Pulch. 59 [79 col. 1037 ed. Ball.] cited by Fleury 27, 49 english translation): Eusebius was at the Council of Chalcedon, he was vindicated at the close of the 1st Session (t. iv. 1189 Col). In the third Session he presents to the Council a petition against Dioscorus (ib. 1249, 1251). In the fifth Session he was one of those engaged in the *handling concerning the holy faith, τρακταῖσάντων περὶ τῆς ἁγίας πίστεως* (ib. 1452): he signs in the sixteenth session (ib. 1737). A rescript of the Emperor Marcian annuls all that had been done against him. This Rescript addressed to Palladius, Prætorian Prefect, Valentinian, Præfect of Illyria, Tatian Præfect of the City, Vincomalus Master of the offices (see Theod. Ep. 140 tit.) and Consul-designate, is given as a sequel to the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon (part. 3 cap. xi. t. iv. 1809 ed. Col.). See Fleury Eccl. Hist. Books xxv. xxvii. and xxviii. in the English translation edited by Dr. Newman, Oxford, 1844.

Eusebius' brave and loyal conduct on this present occasion *while yet a layman*, is mentioned in the Council of

AG. NEST. great piety and yet among the laity, but who had gathered within himself no mean learning, was moved with fervent and devout³ zeal and with piercing cry^{s 4} said that the Word Himself Who is before the ages endured a second Generation also, viz., that after the flesh and forth of a woman; the people being disturbed hereat, and the more part and wiser having honoured him with no mean praises, as pious and most full of wisdom and not imparticipate in uprightness of doctrine, the rest being mad against him, he [Nestorius] interrupting⁵, straightway approves those whom by teaching his own he had destroyed, and whets his tongue against him who could not endure his words, yea and against the holy fathers who have decreed⁶ for us the pious definition of the Faith *which we have as an anchor of the soul both sure and steadfast*, as it is written.

³ φιλοθέω
⁴ τὸ ρόν
τι κεκρα-
γῶς

⁵ διαλα-
βῶν

⁶ τεθεσ-
υοθετή-
κασιν
Heb. vi.
19.

„For (said he) I rejoice at beholding your zeal; but „from the thing itself is a clear confutation of what has „been said by the pollution of this wretched man; for „whereof the births are two, two sons are they, but the „Church knoweth one Son Christ the Lord.,,

i. e. Euse-
bius after-
wards
bishop of
Dorylae-
um.

§ 6

Most foolishly therefore put he forth the definition of his ideas on this matter saying, „for whereof the births are „two, two sons are they., But letting alone for a while his subtil accuracy⁷ herein, come, come let us gather what pertains to accurate investigation for the consideration of the matter. He therefore made it inadmissible [to speak of

⁷ ἰσχυρο-
μυθίας

Chalcedon itself; for when that Council had heard the Letter of S. Cyril to John Archbishop of Antioch to which they gave the Ecumenical sanction of the Church, some of the Bishops called out, *Εὐσέβιος Νεστόριον καθεῖλε*, *Eusebius deposed Nestorius*. It is likewise mentioned by Evagrius (Eccl. Hist. i. 9) who says, *τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν τοῦ δορυλαίου διέποντος, ὃς καὶ ῥήτωρ ἐπὶ τυγχάνων, πρῶτος τὴν Νεστορίου βλασφημίαν διέλεγε*, *exercising the Bishop's office at Dorylaeum, who while yet an advocate first convicted the blasphemy of Nestorius*. Leontius (in the 7th century) writing against Nestorius and Eutyches (contra Nest. et Eutych. lib. 3 in Galland. Bibl. Vet. Patrum xii. 697) speaks of it too.

^s The people's applause during the sermons of S. Augustine and S. Chrysostom are often mentioned: Nestorius alludes to the applause of his own sermons a little above, p. 11. Two or three years later when the troubles which followed on the council through the Eastern Bishops misunderstanding S. Cyril and his language, were beginning to be allayed, and one of them, the pious and aged Paul Bishop of Emesa, was preaching at Alexandria before the Archbishop, the very words that the people uttered in their delight are preserved to us (concilia t. iii. 1617, 1621 ed. Col.). Here Eusebius' cry was one of zeal for the Faith, contradicting the denial of Truth which he heard.

two generations^{c]} but says that one ought to be confessed BOOK i. 6.
by us, that we conceive not of two sons (as though it were GOD the SON has two Generations
necessary if the births be two, that two sons also should
be introduced): let him come forward and tell us which
of the generations he will admit, that before the ages from
out the Father, wherein the Word was God not yet Incar-
nate, or this one, recent and out of a woman.

If then he say that alone, I mean the one before the
ages from out the Father, that one alone will be Son Who
is out of Him by Nature and not yet participate of flesh
and blood: and vainly (as it seems) is the Mystery of the
Incarnation uttered, and in no wise hath He emptied Him-
self nor been made in servant's form, but hath remained
thus, rejecting the true concurrence⁸ with flesh even until 8 σύνοδον
now. But he who is in the last times out of woman, shall
be styled by himself son, and we will admit this one gene-
ration, I mean out of woman; needs has the Word out of
God the Father fallen away from being by Nature Son.

But the pious man sees full surely the absurdity of such
ideas and its exceeding swerving unto impiety. In order
then that we may proceed along the royal road, we say
that two were the Births, one the Son through both, the
Word out of God not yet made in flesh, the Same after-
wards Incarnate and enduring for us the birth of a woman
after the flesh. For if one said in regard of men that two
sons must surely be conceived of, if we speak of two births,
he would say rightly and it would be true; but since the
Mystery of Christ and the mode of the Incarnation hath an-
other path⁹, and is not beheld in like wise with what is 9 ὁδόν
ours, why is he, looking at our habits, and then fastening his
mind on what is marvellous and above speech, caught fall-
ing into feeblest and unlearned pettiness of belief¹? What 1 ὀλιγοπιστίαν
surprises me is this: he confessing herein that the Church
knows one Son, and adding, The Lord Christ, hath no
longer kept One, for he sunders one from another things
united, and putteth each apart, not enquiring what the

^c See the same objection brought forward in the treatise *Quod Unus Christus*,
given below.

AG. NEST. Word is by Nature, what the flesh also; but gathering rather into one, man and God in equality of glory only, as he deemeth, which is a thing utterly implausible², yea rather impossible, he casts down³ the scheme of the mystery unto uncomeliness. Thus he saith:

² ἀπί-
θανον
³ κατα-
σείλει

Creed of
Constantinople

„But we must (for it has now come into my mind)
„learn that the Synod of Nicea too nowhere durst say that
„God was born of Mary; for it said, *We believe in One*
„*God the Father Almighty and in One Lord Jesus Christ.*
„Observe that having first put the word *Christ*, which is
„the indication of the two natures, they did not say, in
„one God the Word, but took the name that signifies both,
„in order that when lower down you hear of death, you
„think it not strange; in order that the words *crucified*
„and *buried* may not strike the ear as though the Godhead
„suffered these things., Then it goes on, „*We believe in*
„*One Lord Jesus Christ, the Only Begotten Son, the Begotten*
„*out of the Father, the Consubstantial with the Father, Who*
„*came down from the heavens for our sakes, and was Incar-*
„*nate of the Holy Ghost.* They said not, and begotten of
„the Holy Ghost., And he says that the holy fathers
interpreting what is the meaning of *Incarnate* say, *Made*
Man. And what being *made Man* means he himself mak-
ing clear, said again, „His own Nature not undergoing
„change into flesh, but inhabitation in man.,

see p. 31
note a

§ 7

⁴ ἀβελετε-
ρίας

⁵ βωμο-
λοχία
⁶ γλωσσ-
αλγίας

Will any one of those who rank as Christians endure either the infatuation⁴ that there is in these words or the impiety of his ideas? To those of really sound mind are not these things a manifest ribaldry⁵, and no mean kind of openmouthedness⁶ against Christ? for he slanders the truth, he says that He is not truly Son, allotting this to another (for „observe, he says, that having first put the „word *Christ* which is the indication of the two natures, „they did not say, *We believe in One God the Word*)., And as regards the Name, I mean *Christ*^x, I will presently enquire whether it be significative of the two Natures or

^x see Book 2, beginning of Book 5 and §§ 4. 5. Def. xii capp. contr. Theod. cap. 7 init. de recta fide to the Emperor, pp. 32, 37, 38, to the Princesses, 47 b 70 e

not, but what is before us we will exercise ourselves in, as Book i. 7.
 we can. For in no wise to be borne may those things be
 that are so absurdly and heedlessly babbled forth by him,
 but one might (I deem) say, speaking in behalf of the holy
 fathers, What art thou doing, noble sir, putting forth rude
 tongue against holy men, to whom will beseem that which
 was said by Christ Himself the Saviour of us all, *It is not* S. Matt.
YE that speak, but the Spirit of your Father Which speaketh x. 20.
in you? for what has there not been conceived of by them
 of things exceeding well polished unto an admirable sub-
 tilty? what of needful doctrines has been overlooked, or
 what method of safeguard neglected by them? „They have
 „not dared (he says) insert in their words concerning the
 „Faith that God the Word was born of Mary.,, If there-
 fore thou for this reason accuse those who have been be-
 fore us, and sayest thou art aggrieved because they are
 not found to use thy exact words, it is time (I suppose)
 to accuse along with them the holy Apostles and Evange-
 lists too, for they have compiled the books of instruction ^{7 7} μυστα-
γωγίας
 concerning Christ, yet one will not find them using word
 for word your expressions. But (if it please you) pass
 this over as ^γ but consider rather that they have
 well wrought out their explanation of this matter, for faith
 in the Holy and Consubstantial Trinity is exacted ⁸ of us. 8 πρᾶττε-
ται
 But since they say that they believe in *One God the Father*
Almighty, Maker of all things both visible and invisible, and
in One Lord Jesus Christ His Son, and none other (accord-
 ing to us) is Jesus Christ the Lord than the One and by Na-
 ture and truly Son, Who beaming from out of God and being
 God the Word has been made Man, by birth (that is) out of
 woman, how will they who proclaim the mode of the economy
 not be found to speak also of His Birth of a woman after the
 flesh? for then in truth has the Word which is God and Wis-
 dom and Life and Light, the Son, been named Christ Jesus.
 It is manifest therefore that the time of such naming has

85 c 115 c d 120 d, to the Empresses
 Pulcheria and Eudoxia 131 b & § 18 p.
 148 b Quod Unus Christus see below.
 See also Theodoret in his letter to Bishop
 Timothy (Ep. 130).

^γ Here the MS. leaves a blank of
 about 12 letters: these blanks sometimes
 indicate that the scribe could not deci-
 pher the word in the ms. which he was
 copying.

AG. NEST. concurrent⁹ with it the Birth, that I mean through the holy
⁹ συνεισ-
 τρέχου-
 σαν Virgin. That believing on Christ Jesus, we believe in
 the One and by Nature and truly Son, our faith moun-
 ting up unto the Father through Him, will be clear, in
 S. John that He Himself hath cried aloud to the whole world, *He*
 xii. 44,
 45. *that believeth on Me believeth not on Me but on Him that*
sent Me, and he that seeth Me seeth Him that sent Me, and
 Ib. xiv. 1. again, *Believe on God, and believe on Me.* And we do not
 (I suppose) say that He asks of us two faiths, but rather
 He teaches that if any admit the faith to Himward, he hath
 believed on the Father Himself.

But since (as is probable) he will be making use of the
¹ δμω-
 νυμία community¹ of the names, saying that Christ and Lord, yea
 and Son, are common titles, and will be affirming that they
 suit the Word That sprung of the Father even though He
 be conceived of as alone and not yet² participate of flesh,
 and likewise the Temple that sprang of a virgin, this
 matter needs (I think) considerable investigation: put-
 ting it off for the present to a season (as I said) fitly be-
 longing to it, let us go to another utterance of the holy
 Synod which this man perverting unto his own liking, does
 violence to the force of truth. For he says that the fathers
 have written, *We believe in One Lord Jesus Christ, the*
Only-Begotten Son, the Begotten from forth the Father, the
Consubstantial with the Father, Who came down for our
sakes, and was Incarnate of the Holy Ghost. He adds hereto
 and says of the holy fathers, „lower down they interpret
 „that He who *was made man*, He it is who is said to be *In-*
 „*carate*, the Divine Nature not enduring change into flesh
 „but inhabitation in man.,, In his explanation he again
 keeps hold of the same mind and moreover says thus ;

„They followed the Evangelist, for the Evangelist too
 „when he comes to the being made man, shunned saying
 „Birth in respect of God the Word, and hath put Incarnation.
 Ib. i. 14. „Where ? Hear, *And the Word was made flesh* ; he said

² οὕτω Cod. I have translated as if οὕτω yet, following the conjecture of the Roman Editors.

„not, Was born through the flesh. For where the Apostles Book i. 8.
 „or the Evangelists make mention of the Son, they put
 „that He was born of a woman. Give heed to what is said,
 „I beseech you; for where they utter the name of the
 „Son, and that He was borne² from forth a woman, they² ἐτέχθη
 „put the word, Born³; where they mention the Word, no³ ἐγεννή-
 „one of them durst speak of birth through the human^{θῆ}
 „nature. For the blessed John the Evangelist, when he
 „came to the Word and to His Incarnation, hear what he
 „says, *The Word was made flesh.*„

Come therefore putting beside what he said, the defini- § 8
 tion⁴ of our Creed, let us see if ought has been innovated⁴ ἀνόδοσιν
 by this man regarding it too.

WE BELIEVE IN ONE GOD THE FATHER ALMIGHTY, MAKER
 OF ALL THINGS VISIBLE AND INVISIBLE, AND IN ONE LORD JESUS
 CHRIST, THE SON OF GOD, BEGOTTEN OUT OF THE FATHER, ONLY-
 BEGOTTEN THAT IS OUT OF HIS ESSENCE, GOD OUT OF GOD LIGHT
 OUT OF LIGHT VERY GOD OUT OF VERY GOD, BEGOTTEN NOT
 MADE, CONSUBSTANTIAL WITH THE FATHER, THROUGH WHOM ALL
 THINGS WERE MADE, BOTH THOSE IN HEAVEN AND THOSE ON
 EARTH: WHO FOR US MEN AND FOR OUR SALVATION CAME DOWN
 AND WAS INCARNATE AND MADE MAN, SUFFERED AND ROSE THE
 THIRD DAY, ASCENDED INTO THE HEAVENS, COMETH TO JUDGE
 QUICK AND DEAD, AND IN THE HOLY GHOST.

Come now therefore, noble sir, where (tell me) have they
 put of the Son, *Incarnate of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin*
Mary^a? but this he can by no means shew. But con-

^a The Creed that S. Cyril (here as elsewhere) recites above is the Nicene Creed, as actually put forth by that Council: Nestorius, being Archbishop of Constantinople, had (not unnaturally) been quoting from that of Constantinople, which is the Nicene Creed in the form in which it was afterwards put forth by the Council of Constantinople (A. D. 381), and in which it is familiar to us. See the two in Rev. Dr. Heurtley's *De Fide et symbolo*, pp. 5 and 17 ed. 1869. and translated in parallel columns with the variations marked in my *Father's*, *The Councils of the Church* to the close of the second general Council of Constantinople, A. D. 381, 1857 pp. 312 sqq. For the very slow steps by which the Creed of Constantinople be-

came well-known beyond the more immediate neighbourhood of Constantinople itself see "On the clause, *And the Son*, in regard &c." pp. 37 sqq; for the beginnings of its Liturgical use, in Spain, pp. 49, 65; in France p. 65; Germany, Rome p. 66; the East, note 2 pp. 184, 185. Even John Archbishop of Antioch in his Letter to S. Proclus written a few years after this treatise of S. Cyril, inserts the Creed of Nicea, Synodicon cap. 196. Conc. iv. 452 Col. Diogenes bishop of Cyzicus, in the Council of Chalcedon, said, "The holy fathers who were afterwards, explained the, *was Incarnate*, which the holy fathers in Nicea said, by 'From forth the Holy Ghost and Mary the Virgin.'" The Egyptians and the most pious

AG. NEST. sider this. They say that the Word out of God, the Only-Begotten, He That is from forth the Essence of the Father, He through Whom are all things, the Very Light, was both incarnate and made man, suffered and rose, and too, that He will in season come again the Judge.

But in order that submitting to accurate scrutiny his words also, we may see what is the amount ⁵ of the unlearning that is in them, he affirms in plain terms that they say that the Word out of God was both incarnate and made man, and he crowns them with his vote unto their truth as saying what was convenient. Do they therefore (tell me) in saying that He was both Incarnate and made Man mean ought else than that He was begotten after the flesh? for this would be (and alone) the mode of incarnation to one who has his existence both external to flesh and in his proper nature; for no one would say (I suppose) that flesh has been made flesh nor will any one be made what he was [already]. But if one should conceive a certain economic change to have been made regarding him unto somewhat else which he was not, the expression will then have great fitness. Hence if they say that the Only-Begotten has been Incarnate, and this would be wrought (I suppose) through fleshly generation and in no other way, how have they not plainly said that the Word being God has been begotten after the flesh?

But (he says) the Birth is not named in plain terms. Yes, but the nature of the thing knows (as I already said) no other way of being incarnate. So that, although it be not in plain terms said in matters of this kind, we will not for this, forsaking the only way recognized by nature, go off to another. For it is written in the Book of Genesis, *And to Seth there was made* ⁶ *a son, and he called his name Enos*. Shall we then, because the Scripture has put, *was made*, not admit the mode of birth? how would not this be

Bishops with them called out, *No one admits addition* (Conc. Chalc. Act 1. t. iv. 913 ed. Col. quoted On the &c. p. 40.): probably with a keen recollection of what their great Archbishop had here said, objecting to Nestorius as adding them: for the Council was holden in

451, only 7 years after he had departed to his rest.

On the antiquity of these words though not in the actual Nicene Creed, see my Father's note P to Tertullian in the Library of the Fathers, pp. 503, 504.

see above
p. 16.

see p. 8.

Gen. iv.
26.

⁶ ἐγένετο

unlearned? for the very nature of the thing will all but Book i. 8. compel us even against our will to confess the idea of birth. How then on hearing of the Incarnation does he not forthwith admit the idea of Birth? and when the being made <sup>7 ἐναν-
θρωπή-
σεως</sup> man ⁷ has been plainly mentioned, how did he not straightway understand, that being made man would befit not a man, lest he should seem to be made that he already was, above p.
16. but the Word originating from God? But where being made man is believed to truly take place, there is full surely the birth whereby he may be seen to be made man.

But not thus does it seem to you is the saying to be conceived of, that the Word of God was both Incarnate and was made Man; for you said again, endeavouring to oppose the idea of every one else, that the being made man, means, not the change into flesh of the Divine Nature <sup>b, above
pp. 28, 30.</sup> but its indwelling in man. He says then that the conversion into flesh of the Divine Nature is both impossible and that it in no wise befalls it (and very rightly, for we will approve him who herein has chosen to speak aright; for I say that It is stable ⁸ and that It will not be transformed <sup>8 ἀκράδαν-
τον</sup> into ought else than what It is believed to be): but that his discourse hath missed of the fitting and true, in that

^b Theodoret, having lived amid the same school of thought as Nestorius, shares with him the dread of the Divine Nature being imagined to be *changed into flesh*. In his objection to S. Cyril's first chapter (see above p. 24 note q) Theodoret says, "It is plain then from what has been said that the form of God was not turned into servant's form but remaining what it was, took servant's form having moulded Himself a Temple in the Virgin's womb, He was co-with that which was moulded and conceived and formed and borne: wherefore we style that holy Virgin too, Mother of God, not as having borne God by Nature but man united (ἡνωμένον) to God Who moulded him (p. 204 c d e)." In his Letter to the Monks of the province he says, "For in his first chapter he casts out the economy that was wrought for our sakes, teaching that God the Word hath not taken human nature but was Himself changed into flesh," Ep. 151 p. 1292; Migne, t. 83. col. 1417. In his letter to the Monks of Constantinople written in his later years (Tillemont Art. xi. fin. thinks about 451) he says that

SS. Basil, Gregory, Amphilochius, Pope Damasus, Ambrose, Cyprian, Athanasius, Alexander his teacher, Meletius, Flavian, lights of the East, Ephraim the lyre of the Spirit; John [Chrysostom], Atticus, Ignatius, Polycarp, Irenaeus, Justin, Hippolytus, and the then Bishop of Rome, the most holy Leo, all taught that "One Son is the Only-Begotten Son of God and God before the ages Begotten ineffably from out the Father, and that after the Incarnation He is called both Son of man and man, not turned hereinto but assuming what is ours." Ep. 145 p. 1253. Further on in the same Epistle Theodoret speaks also of the Manhood remaining: he says that whereas our Lord raised other bodies free from all blemish, "in His own He left the tokens of sufferings that He might through the sufferings convict of erring those who deny the assumption of His Body, and through the print of the nails might teach them who imagined that the Body had been changed into another nature, that it had remained in its proper form," ib p. 1254.

- AG. NEST. he maintained that the being made Man is the indwelling in man, I shall essay to shew. For if he says that this matter is true of Emmanuel singly and alone, let him teach the reason why (for I cannot learn it), or no one will tolerate him as a definer and layer down of the law in respect of those things as to which he is pleased to speak inconsiderately. But perchance the force of the things defined does not extend unto one [alone], there will then be no blame, even though it extend unto all. Hence not once for all but many times over shall we find that God has been made man, and not only the Word out of God the Father, but I will add both the Father Himself and besides, the Holy Ghost. For He said through one of the holy Prophets of
- 2 Cor. vi. 16. them that have been justified in faith, *I will dwell in them*
 from Lev. xxvi. 12. *and walk in them and I will be their God and they shall be My people.* And Christ Himself also said, And if any
- S. John xiv. 23. man hear Me, *we will come I and My Father and make Our abode with him and lodge in him*^c. The most wise
- Heb. iii. 5, 6. Paul too hath somewhere written, *And Moses was faithful in all his house as a servant, for a testimony of the things which were to be spoken of, but Christ as a Son over His own house whose house are we*; and moreover of the Holy Ghost
- 1 Cor. iii. 16. too, *Know ye not that ye are the temple of God and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?* Hence if when the God of all is said to dwell in any, if this be the being made man or the incarnation, let it be said in respect of each one also
- 2 S. Pet. i. 4. of those who were made *partakers of the Divine Nature* and have moreover had Him indwelling them, that he has both been made man and besides was incarnate. This now being so and admitted as true, the Word out of God the Father might even be said to have been most often made flesh, yea and He indwelleth even now in many of those who fear ⁹ Him.
- ⁹ σεβομ-
 ενοις,
 fear, do
 Him
 reverence.
 S. John
 i. 14.
¹ ἐν ἡμῖν
 Col. ii. 9.
- Yea (he says) for it is written of God the Word, that He *tabernacled in us*¹; the Divine-uttering Paul too said of Christ the Saviour of us all, that *in Him* hath dwelt *all the fulness of the Godhead bodily*.

^c This addition occurs in the same words on S. John i. 13 p. 107 O.T. (cf. an allusion on S. John xiv. 24.) and in Scholia, § 18.

He *tabernacled in us* confessedly, for so it is written; BOOK i. 8. and moreover that He hath dwelt: I will not oppose you saying it, but rather will I search into ² the words of the ² Βασανί-
ζειν Divines. For the blessed Evangelist, having aforesaid, *And the Word was made flesh*, profitably added too the, *tabernacled in us*, that by means of both he might work in us unmutilated the knowledge of the mystery Christward. For that the Word out of God the Father was united Personally to flesh, he hath openly declared ^d by saying that He *was made flesh*: that *made flesh*, He hath not passed into the nature of flesh, undergoing change into what He was not, but together with becoming as we, hath abode what He was, he again clearly states, adding to the former, the *tabernacled in us*. And the Divine-uttering Paul saith that *in Christ dwelt all the fullness of the Godhead bodily*, that no one might suppose that the Indwelling was simple or accidental ^e but (as I said just now) Very and Personal. For that the Word of God is Incorporeal and not subject to touch, the Spirit-clad was not ignorant; but since it was needful that the declaration of the mystery should be seen to be in no wise a matter of blame ³, but should be made ³ μεμωμη-
μένην, see
p. 2, ref.
3. so accurate and exact ⁴ unto what is right and true as to be beyond all marvel:—he is doing violence (it seems) ⁵ 4 διηρθ-
ρωμένην
5 καταβι-
άξεται τὸ
εἶκος and all but overlooking what befits the Unembodied and Supreme Nature, for he hath added, *Bodily*, being able in no other way to speak than may be attained by our mind and tongue.

Do not therefore, when he tells us of simple indwelling, think that he is saying ought that needs not the strongest reprobation. For overthrowing as he thinks and that with vigour ⁶ the birth according to the flesh of the Son, he com- ⁶ νεανικῶς

^d διαμεμήνηκεν. This emendation of the Roman editors for διαμεμένηκεν is confirmed to us by citations of Niketas in his catena on S. John. (This Niketas was Archbishop of Heraklea in Thrace in the xith century, he compiled ample Commentaries on Holy Scripture made up of copious extracts from the Fathers: those on the Psalms, SS. Matthew, Luke, John, the Epistle to the Hebrews, perhaps a fragment of that to the Ro-

mans have reached us either published or in MSS.: for the psalms and S. John at least Niketas made use of the labours of those who before him had constructed catenae of Fathers and he had besides access to works of the Fathers now lost, of which he has thus preserved something.)

^e σχετικὴν, something possessed and so accruing, and not a natural essential inseparable property, see p. 47 and note 1.

AG. NEST. pounds an argument befitting old wives and foolish and having no foundation of truth. For he writes again after this manner ; his discourse was made touching the Arians :

7 τὴν
Χριστο-
τόκον
,, Yet^f though *they* prate that God the Word is junior to
,, the greater Godhead, these make Him second to the
,, blessed Mary, and over the Godhead, Creator of times,
,, they set a mother born in time, yea rather they do not
,, even allow that she who bare Christ⁷ is mother of Christ.
,, For if not the nature of man but God the Word was, as
,, these say, that which is of her, she that bare was no
,, mother of that which was born. For how will any one
,, be mother of him who is alien from her nature ? But if
,, she be called mother by them, that which is born is man-
,, hood not Godhead, for it is the property of every mother
,, to bear what is consubstantial [with her]. Either then
,, she will not be mother, not bearing what is consubstantial
,, with herself, or being called mother by them, she bare
,, that which was in essence like to herself.,,

§ 9 How deep the matter of his cogitations ! dread and hard
8 ἀνάγκη to escape is clearly the compulsion⁸ resulting from the
reasonings of him who hath compiled such things ! Whence
comes he having gathered into the midst unto us such
fables ? or who ever sank down to this extent of unlearning
in his conceptions, as to think or say that the Godhead of the
Only-Begotten has not its existence before the ages from
the Father but rather makes flesh and blood the begin-
9 ἐμβρόν-
τητος
1 ὀλιγο-
γνώμων
ning of its passing into being ? who is so distraught⁹ and
slight of understanding¹ and wholly without ear for the
holy Scriptures ? who remembereth not Isaiah who hath
Isa. liii. 8. cried aloud of Him, *Who shall declare His generation ?* John
S. John too who hath written clearly, *In the beginning was the Word*
i. 1, 3. *and the Word was with God and the Word was God ; all*
things were made through Him and without Him was not any
thing made ? And if all things through Him, how will He
Who is before every age and time be later in birth than

^f This passage is given rather fuller, when he is speaking as it were against
and at greater length by Mercator, with
the title, *Also in the nineteenth quire,*
Arius. (p. 112, Bal.)

the things that were made through Him? why then do you Booki.10.
bring in what is repudiated by all, as though it had been
said? cease accusing those who rightly blame what you say,
and who laugh at the vastness of the unlearning that is
therein. Since therefore there is no one who says that
the Virgin hath borne from forth her own flesh the nature
of the Godhead, do not contend to no purpose, twining for
us reasonings not made out of premises ² that are true and ² λημμά-
των
acknowledged by all.

But what was it that persuaded you to let loose a tongue
so sheer ³ and unguarded against those who are zealous to ³ ἀκρατῇ
think aright, and to pour down accusal dire and all-cruel
upon every worshipper of God? For you said again in
Church,

„But I have already full often said that if any simpler
„one either among us or any other, rejoice in the word
„Mother of God, I have no grudge against the word; only
„let him not make the Virgin a goddess. „

Again dost thou rail upon us, and put on a mouth so § 10
bitter? and reproachest *the congregation of the Lord*, as it Num.
is written? But we, my friend ⁴, who call her mother of xxvii. 17
God, have never at all deified any one of those that are et alibi
4 ὁ τῶν
numbered among creatures, but are accustomed to know
as God the One and by Nature and truly so: and we know
that the blessed Virgin was woman as we. But thyself wilt
be caught, and that at no long interval, representing to us
Emmanuel as a God-bearing man, and putting upon another
the condemnation due to your own essays.

T O M E II.

The Word after the Union One Incarnate Person. Similitudes of unlike things united. 'Connection' does not unite. The Name CHRIST means God the Son Incarnate. Jacob's pillar a type. To His human nature belong the anointing and His subjection to the Law: yet He is God. Cyrus how *christ*, the Babylonians how *holy*. Personal Union. *Christ's* glory no imparted glory but His own inherent glory. If community of names unite, Emmanuel has nought more than we. The human cannot be allotted to a distinct person. God the Son Incarnate to be worshipped just as before His Incarnation. Speak not of 'hidden' and 'manifest' as though Two, they are One. Worship of Him taught by God the Father.

S. James
iii. 6, 8.

Ps. cxli.
3, 4.

¹ τερθρεῖ-
as

Prov. ix.
18 LXX.
Ib. xviii.
21. LXX.

Eccles. v.
12.

1 Cor.
viii. 12.

THE tongue is a fire and an unruly evil, as it is written ; thrusting from him the mischief therefrom, the Divine-uttering David says, *Set a watch, O Lord, before my mouth, a door of fencing around my lips, incline not mine heart to words of wickedness.* For to be able to speak aright ^a, and to have an exact control over the tongue, as to what it should speak, what not, is of a truth God-given, and is no slight matter with those who practise a conversation not void of admiration. But recklessness in speech and unbridled licence unto trickery ¹, are replete with danger and bear down to the pit-fall of hell those who use it. And it is written, *Death and life are in the hand of the tongue, they that master it shall eat the fruits thereof.* A certain other too of the wise men hath said to us, *If thou hast a word of understanding, answer, if not, lay thine hand upon thy mouth ; for how is not silence better than unlearned speech ? But accursed is it in another way too to belch forth bitter words, and to heap down sinful sayings upon the ineffable Glory, albeit it ought to be honoured by us with unceasing praises. And when we sin against the brethren and wound their weak conscience, we sin against Christ, for so hath written the Divine-uttering Paul.*

^a εὐστομεῖν=εὐφημεῖν, to keep from all words displeasing to God.

And this I say having read Nestorius' words and observing that he not only says that we ought not to say that the holy Virgin is Mother of God and that she hath borne Emmanuel Who is God, but yet in addition to this and in many ways is he minded to make war upon the glory of Christ. For he endeavours to shew us that He is God-bearing and not truly God, but man associated² with God, as in equality of rank. For thus seems good to him alone apart from every one else, to think and to speak, albeit the Catholic Church, which Christ Himself presented to *Himself*, has not the wrinkles of him who has compiled such things, but rather as *unblemished*, she keeps wholly without rebuke her knowledge of Him, and hath made full well her tradition of the Faith. For *we believe in One God, the Father Almighty, of all things both visible and invisible the Maker, and in One Lord Jesus the Christ, and in the Holy Ghost*: and following the confessions annexed hereto of the holy Fathers, we say that the Very Word Essentially sprung from forth God the Father, was made as we and was Incarnate and made Man, that is, took to Himself a Body from forth the holy Virgin, and made it His Own: for thus will He be truly One Lord Jesus Christ, thus let us worship Him as One, not putting apart Man and God, but believing that He is One and the Same, in Godhead and in Manhood, that is, God alike and Man.

² συνημμένον, connected, not united, see p. 19, note k. Eph. v. 27.

see Ep. to Nest. 3 Epistles, pp. 61, 62.

Ps. cxli. 4 LXX. 3 συναφελ- as, as συνημμένον, above.

chap. 4

But the inventor of the most recent impiety, albeit making feint of saying One Christ, ever divides the Natures and sets Each by itself, saying that they did not truly come together; but *making excuses in sins*, as it is written, devises some mode of connection³, of merely (as I said) equality of rank, as shall be shewn from his own words: and he makes the Word out of God indwell by participation, as in a common man, and distributes the sayings in the Gospels, so as one while to attribute certain to the Word alone^b and by Himself, other while to him that is

^b See S. Cyril's fourth chapter, "If the saints or by Him of Himself, and any one allot to two Persons or Hypostases the words in the Gospel and Apostolic writings, said either of Christ by ascribe some to a man conceived of by himself apart from the Word That is of God, others as God-befitting to the Word

AG. NEST. born from forth a woman separately⁴. Yet how is it not
⁴ ἰδιὰ obvious to all that the Only-Begotten being God by Nature has been made man, not by connection simply (as *he*

alone That is of God the Father, be he anathema." Neither Andrew nor Theodoret understood this chapter; Andrew allows that the words must not be allotted to two persons, and uses the term *ἄκρα* of the Union of God and Man both here and on chapter 11 end, just as S. Cyril Hom. Pasch. 7, p. 102 d had said τὸ εἰς ἄκρον ἐνοῦν and in the Hom. 16 (A.D. 429) so often quoted by Andrew, p. 230 b (as well as at p. 17 above and elsewhere) had used the expression τῇ εἰς ἄκρον ἔνωσιν [Nestorius § 8, below p. 64 had called it *ἄκρα συνάφεια*]; but appears to think that S. Cyril had denied any distinction of the words at all. Theodoret after an allotment to the Human nature of our Lord of words said by Him of His Human nature, shews his misunderstanding of S. Cyril's chapter by adding what is quite true, but is equally admitted by S. Cyril, "Hence, the things spoken and wrought in God-befitting sort, we will allot to God the Word, those spoken and wrought in lowly wise to the servant's form, lest we fall into the sickness of Arius¹ and Eunomius' blasphemy."

What S. Cyril is objecting to is the notion that He who is One with the Father is God the Son absolutely distinct from His own Manhood, that He who said, *My God My God why forsookest Thou Me* is, not God the Son, speaking of and through the Manhood which He had for ever united to Himself but, a man distinct and apart. But even in his quite early writings S. Cyril had never overlooked what the Eastern Bishops were (a year or two after this treatise was written) so anxious to have brought prominently forward, viz. that "as to the Gospel and Apostolic words concerning the Lord, we know that Divines make some common, as to One Person, apportion others, as to two Natures, and give to Christ the God-befitting according to His Godhead, the lowly ones according to His Manhood" (Confession of Eastern Bishops, approved by S. Cyril and incorporated by him in his Ecumenical letter to John of Antioch, Three Epistles p. 72). In his Thesaurus cap. x init., S. Cyril says, "But we must know and believe that the Word being God and Consubstantial in all things with the Father, put on man's nature and hath been made Man, in order that He may both sometimes speak as man by reason of the Economy with flesh, and may also as God utter the things above man as so being by Nature

and when opportunity introduces the need of this." But if any one should wish to refer the things which are more humanly and economically spoken (as I said) to His Godhead and again to refer the things which are Divinely spoken to the time wherein He has been made man, such an one will wrong the nature of things and will destroy the Economy: for one while He saith as God, *Verily I say to you, before Abraham was, I am*, and again, *I have come down from out of heaven*. If one wishes to preserve to Him only the God-befitting Dignity, he will utterly take away His being made man in the last times (for He was not in human nature before Abraham was nor yet has He as man come down from Heaven): and again if one should choose to attribute to bare God the Word before the Incarnation the words and acts of the human nature, such an one will do impiously: for what will he do when Christ says *Now has My Soul been troubled and is very sorrowful*? will he admit that sorrow and dismay befel the Nature of God and that fear of death gat hold thereof? what when he sees Him crucified, will he admit that the Godhead of the Son suffered this just as man? or will heresupadiate the blasphemy? Therefore let what is suitable thereto be kept to each time and fact and let Theology practise herself not surely in those things whence it is clear that He is speaking as man, but those whence He is from forth the Father as Son and God; and let it allow to the Economy with flesh that He should sometimes say what does not belong to the Godhead bare and by Itself." pp. 72, 73. See also de Trinitate ad Herm. dial. 1. p. 398, dial. 6. p. 600 a b, 602 fin. Hom. Pasch. 7 (A.D. 420) "For as to create in God-befitting manner is not conceived of as pertaining to a man, so is to die alien from God." p. 101 b and through the Homily. These belong to the earlier years of S. Cyril's Episcopate: they do not differ from what S. Cyril wrote about this time, in explanation of his fourth chapter, and in reply to Andrew's criticisms, p. 171 a b, nor from what, in A.D. 432 when the Egyptian and Eastern Churches had explained to one another what each meant, S. Cyril wrote to Acacius Bishop of Melitene as being what the Eastern Bishops said and as being one of the essential points in which they differed from Nestorius (Epp. pp. 117, 118 a).

says) considered as external or accidental⁵, but by true union, ineffable and passing understanding. And thus He is conceived of as One and Only, and every thing said befits Him and all will be said of One Person. For the Incarnate Nature^c of the Word Himself is after the Union now conceived of as One, just as will reasonably be conceived in regard to ourselves too, for man is really One, compounded of unlike things, soul I mean and body. But it is necessary now too to notify that we say that the Body united to God the Word is ensouled with a reasonable Soul. And I will for profit's sake add this too: other than the Word out of God is the flesh, in regard to its proper nature, other again Essentially the Nature of the Word Itself. But even though the things named be conceived of as diverse and sundered in diverseness of nature, yet is Christ conceived of as One out of⁷ both, the Godhead⁷ and manhood having come together one to another in true union.

And the God-inspired Scripture confirms us hereto by ten thousand words and acts: using similitudes whereby one may (and that without labour) clearly advance so as we may behold the Mystery of Christ. The blessed Prophet Isaiah said therefore, *And there was sent to me one of the Seraphim and in his hand a live coal which he had taken with the tongs from off the altar and he touched my mouth and said, Lo this hath touched thy lips and shall take away thine iniquities and purge thy sins.* And searching according to our power into the depth of the vision, we say that none

Book ii.
⁵ σκετικῇ
⁶ ἅπας λόγος
see 3
Epistles,
p. 66.

Isa. vi.
6, 7.

see Schol.
§ 9

^c μία γὰρ ἤδη νοεῖται φύσις μετὰ τὴν ἑνωσιν ἡ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Λόγου σεσαρκωμένον. S. Cyril in his second Letter to Successus bishop of Diocaesarea in Isauria, written probably about 3 years after this, explains the Term One Nature Incarnate thus, "For even if the Only-Begotten Son of God Incarnate and Made man be said by us to be One, He has not therefore been mixed up (as some please to think) nor has the Nature of the Word passed into the nature of the flesh nor yet that of the flesh into His Nature, but, while each abides and is conceived of in its natural property, He united unspeakably and unutterably shewed us One Nature of the Son, yet

(as I said) Incarnate. For not merely of things which are simple by nature is the One rightly used, but also of those which are brought together as compounded; such as is man, of soul and body: for such things are diverse in form and not consubstantial one to another; yet united, they made up one nature of man, albeit in the plan of the compounding, the difference of nature in the things brought together into Union exists." Epp. p. 143 a b c. The great estimation in which this letter was held is indicated by its frequent citations in controversies on the Incarnation. See also the Letter to Acacius Bishop Melitene, Epp. pp. 115, 116.

AG. NEST. other save our Lord Jesus Christ is the spiritual coal laid on the altar whereon by us it gives forth the sweet savour of incense to God the Father: for *through Him have we had access* and are acceptable, offering the spiritual worship. This Divine Coal therefore, when it touches the lips of him who approaches thereto, will straightway exhibit him pure and wholly imparticipate in any sin. And in what way it touches our lips, the blessed Paul will teach saying, *Nigh thee is the word, in thy mouth and in thy heart, that if thou say with thy mouth Lord Jesus and believe in thy heart that God hath raised Him from the dead, thou shalt be saved, for with the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.* And He is compared to a Coal, because conceived of as from two unlike things, yet by a true concurrence⁸ they are all but knit together unto union. For the fire entering into the wood, will transelement⁹ it somehow into its own glory and might albeit it hath retained what it was.

Our Lord Jesus Christ again likens Himself to a Pearl, saying, *The kingdom of heaven is like unto a merchant man seeking goodly pearls, who when he had found one Pearl of great price hath gone and sold all that he had and bought it.* I hear Him in another way manifesting Himself to us and saying, *I am the flower of the plain, the lily of the valleys.* For He has in His Proper Nature the God-befitting Brightness of God the Father, and gives forth again His Savour, in respect I mean of spiritual fragrance. As therefore in the pearl and also the lily, the thing itself¹ is conceived of as body, the brilliancy or fragrance therein considered in its proper definition as other than they in whom they are, yet are the things inseparably innate again the own properties and not alien from those which possess them:— in this way (I deem) shall we both reason and think of Emmanuel too. For of diverse kind by nature are God-head and flesh^d, yet was the Body of the Word His own, and not severed from His Body is the Word which is united thereto; for thus and not otherwise will Emmanuel,

^d See S. Cyril's first Letter to Successus, Epp. p. 137 d.

Eph. ii.
18.

Rom. x.
8, 9, 10.

⁸ συνόδος

⁹ μετα-
στοιχείει

S. Matt.
xiii. 45,
46.

Cant. ii.
1.

¹ τὸ ὑπο-
κείμενον
see Schol.
§ 10

i.e., God with us, be conceived of. Hence one while as Book ii.
 Man, and making Himself manifest to us from the mea-
 sures of the emptiness too, He said, *No man takes My life* S. John
from Me, another while again conceived of as God the Word x. 18.
 and out of Heaven and One with His proper flesh, He says,
No man hath ascended up to Heaven but He That came down Ib. iii. 13.
from Heaven, the Son of Man.

The Holy Scripture therefore from every side knitting
 together unto inseverable and true union the Son and
 bearing us back in faith unto One Person, this extraor- πρόσωπον
 dinary ² man manifoldly severs, and hath babbled idly, call- 2 περιτ-
τὸς
chap. 6
 ing the Word out of God the Father God of Christ Himself
 too, as our discourse as it advances will clearly demonstrate
 in its own time and place. For he feigns that he is afraid
 lest any overcome by reverence for the holy Virgin, and
 calling her Mother of God, should, supposing that there is
 a mixture and immingling of the Persons ³ one with another 3 ὑποστα-
σεων
 pour forth uncomeliness upon the doctrines of the Church,
 albeit no one thus thinks: and rectifying (as he deems) a
 thing so dire ⁴, he utterly confuses all things, regardless of 4 τὸ δει-
νόν
 ideas which pertain to rightness and truth: for he said thus;

„If in simple faith you had been putting forward the
 „word *Mother of God*, I would not have grudged it you, on
 „examining the sense of the word. But since I see that
 „you, on plea of honouring the blessed Mary, are main-
 „taining the blasphemy of the heretics, I therefore ward
 „off the putting forth of the word, suspecting the danger
 „that is concealed therein. But to speak clearly and more
 „intelligibly to all, it is the aim of the party of Arius and
 „Eunomius and Apollinarius and of all who are of like
 „brotherhood^e, to bring in Theotokus, as though, a ming-

^e The following extract from Tillemont (Hist. Eccles. Les Apollinaristes, Art 2. t. vii pp. 604, 605 ed. 2. Paris 1705), will illustrate that dread of Apollinarianism, which not only Nestorius but John of Antioch (see a letter of his to S. Cyril, Synodicon cap. 80. Baluz. Nova Collectio Conciliorum t. i. 783; iv. 345 Col.) Theodoret and the Bishops of

that Archiepiscopate felt. Apollinarianism had been their last great heretical onslaught, only about 60 years previous, and Antioch its head-quarters. Tillemont says, “Car ne voulant pas reconnoître qu'il y eust deux substances et deux natures en J. C., l'une divine et l'autre humaine, ou bien l'une de Dieu et l'autre de la chair, non seulement ils

AG. NEST., „ling having taken place and the two natures not divided,
 „nought of the meaner things were taken of the human
 „nature, and they had place at length against the Divi-
 „nity^f, as though all things were spoken of One, not in

[les Apollinaristes] soutenoient, après les Ariens, qu'il avoit une seule nature mixte et composée de la divine et de l'humaine : mais ils se reduisoient à dire que sa chair estoit consubstantielle à sa divinité, qu'une partie du Verbe avoit esté changée en chair, en os, en cheveux, en un mot en un corps et en une nature toute différente de la sienne, que ce n'avoit pas esté un corps comme le nostre, qu'il en avoit seulement la forme et l'apparence extérieure, mais qu'il estoit coeternel à la nature divine, formé de la substance même de la sagesse éternelle et de celle du Verbe changée en un corps passible : Qu'ainsi c'estoit la substance même de la sagesse qui avoit créé le monde, et la divinité du Fils consubstantielle au Père, qui avoit esté circonscrite et attachée à la croix ; et non un corps terrestre comme le nostre.

Ils ajoutoient, par une conséquence bien naturelle de ce faux principe, que la substance de son corps n'estoit pas prise de Marie, mais avoit seulement passé par elle comme par un canal [this was the ancient blasphemy of a portion of the Gnostics, see S. Iren. 3. 11. 3. p. 231 O.T.] : d'où vient qu'ils luy refusoient le titre de Mere de Dieu, et qu'ils pretendoient qu'on ne pouvoit dire que le corps de J. C. fust tiré d'elle, sans mettre une quaternité en Dieu au lieu de la Trinité ; de sorte qu'il est visible que selon eux, le corps de J. C. estoit compris dans la Trinité. Ils disoient aussi que ce corps avoit esté avant Marie et que J. C. l'avoit toujours eu, ayant toujours esté fils de l'homme, qu'il l'avoit pris du ciel [S. Cyril in his Ecumenic Letter to John Archbishop of Antioch (see 3 Epistles p. 72) says that some had reported that he himself had held this very thing], qu'il n'avoit eu qu'à descendre en terre avec son corps qui luy estoit uni substantiellement, qu'ainsi ce corps estoit non seulement consubstantiel à la divinité, mais aussi celeste et increé."

When therefore S. Cyril insists on the Word having been *made flesh*, the Eastern Bishops thought that while using S. John the Evangelist's words, he was pressing the *γένετο* to mean *hath become*, been actually turned into ; and the "One Incarnate Hypostasis of the Word" seemed to them to mean not Union but the mixture and confusion of the Apollinarians. Theodoret, in his

objections to the 12 chapters which S. Cyril and his Council had drawn up for Nestorius to sign, does not in general use language that differs very much from S. Cyril's own mind ; but sets out with the conviction that S. Cyril was an Apollinarian and so reads and interprets the chapters as really intended to bring in Apollinarian error secretly by use of veiled language. Thus in reply to S. Cyril's "for she [the blessed Virgin] hath borne after the flesh the Word from out of God made flesh" (chapter 1), Theodoret remarks, „we say that He has not been made flesh by nature nor was God the Word changed into flesh., „it is plain therefore that the Form of God was not turned into form of servant : „in objection to Chapter 2, „Superfluous therefore is Personal union, which as I think he is putting forward instead of *mixture* : „the objection to chapter 3 ends with the words, „he who is teaching us mixture by means of other names : „in objection to chapter 5, „but that the Word has been made flesh by any *turning*, we not only do not say, but we accuse of impiety them that say so : „the objection to chapter 6 closes, „for not by being turned did God the Word become flesh, but assumed flesh possessed of an intellectual soul : „in the objection to chapter 8 occur similarly the words, „For neither did God the Word receive transformation [*τροπήν* see S. James i. 17] nor again did man lose what he was, and become changed into the nature of God : „the objection to chapter 10 begins, „Not into nature of flesh was the Unchangeable Nature turned : „in the objection to chapter 11 occur the words, „for first of all, he nowhere mentioned *flesh* endowed with mind nor confessed that he which was assumed is perfect man, but everywhere he says flesh, following the doctrine of Apollinarius ; next he intersperses in his words the notion of mixture, infusing it by means of other words., Hence it is clear that Theodoret's objection was not to the chapters themselves but to the chapters in that he approached them possessed with the notion that S. Cyril was an Apollinarian and was endeavouring to disseminate their error by dishonest use of apparently orthodox language.

^f Nestorius means that whereas it was the object of the Arians and Eu-

„regard to the rank from connection⁵, but to Nature. Bookii.1.
 „For One is Christ, and One Lord: but in respect of ⁵ συν-
αφείας
 „Christ, I mean of the Only-Begotten Son, both Christ
 „and Son are said, one while, of the Godhead, another comp.
serm. 2
 „while of the Manhood and Godhead.,, p. 66 Bal.

Seest thou how with manifold inventions of ideas he § 1
 impiously embellishes the generation after the flesh also of
 the Only-Begotten, how he essays to shew that it will take
 place no otherwise than by some infusion or commingling
 of the substances having place: albeit the Teachers of the
 Church do not initiate us this fashion; for we say that a
 true concurrence⁶ had place, the Word uniting to Himself ⁶ σύνοδον
 the Body, yet abiding what He was. But this man tak-
 ing nought of these things to mind, hath blasphemed in
 no mean degree, parting Him into two persons and hypos- πρόσωπά
τε καὶ
ὑποστά-
σεις
 tases⁷ wholly severed one from the other, and attributing
 to either separately the words to it belonging: and again
 he says One Lord Jesus Christ, as though man were con-
 nected with God by rank only, not by true Union, i. e.,
 by Nature. How then is He One^h Christ and Son and
 Lord, if to both severally will belong, as thou sayest, the
 being thus called and so being in truth, by reason of the
 hypostases coming together in no wise by union one with
 another, but being united in respect of rank only or sway
 or authority? And yet if we examine into the nature of

nomians to assert that God the Son was inferior to God the Father, supposing all the lowly actions that are recorded of God our Saviour and His purely Human actions, His hunger and thirst and weariness and sorrow and pain, could be referred to His Godhead, it would go to make out their case. Whereas the actions are not referred to the Godhead considered by Itself, but all the actions recorded of our Lord after His Birth in the flesh, whether Divine or Human, are referred to One Person, God and Man in One, of God the Son. Just as (to use our little comparisons to help our frail understanding) no distinction is made in human actions; we say, he ate, he slept, he read, he wrote, he thought: we do not distinguish and say, his body ate, his body slept, his soul read, or wrote, or thought.

Part of this passage is quoted by S. Cyril in his defence of his fourth chapter against Andrew. For the last portion of the extract compare serm 2, p. 68, Bal.

⁷ πρόσωπά τε καὶ ὑποστάσεις. S. Cyril in his second Dialogue de Trinitate, similarly joins the two words together “How then should we be able any longer to distinguish and what λόγος will sever the distinction of Person and Hypostasis (τὴν ἐν προσώπῳ τε καὶ ὑποστάσει) in the Father as regards the Son, or the Son as regards the Father.” p. 431 a.

^h One is added on the authority of a Syriac citation in a MS. in the British Museum, Cod add. 14533 fol. 9 and again fol. 30. The Roman editors had given it in their margin as a conjectural emendation.

AG. NEST. things, we shall observe that things which are in equality of dignity, have not for this reason parted with their individual existence: nor yet will the having equal degree in point of glory, suffice to union, as for example, Peter and John were both of them Apostles and holy and adorned with equal honours and might through the Spirit by Christ the Saviour of us all. For they along with the rest heard, YE *are the light of the world*, and again, *Heal the sick, raise the dead, cleanse the lepers*¹, *cast out devils*. Shall we therefore say that from their equality of rank or sway accrues to them that they too should be counted as one man, and this is sufficient for unity, I mean unity of their persons? And how will not such an opinion be with reason conceived of as foolish exceedingly? Why then dost thou feign that thou art right in the Faith, saying that One is Christ Jesus the Lord, and then, severing into two persons and hypostases the One, dishonourest the mode of the True Union through which the Christ is One and Alone, and unlearnedly callest equality of honour connection? What is this mode of connection? knowest thou not that dear it always is to those in this life who are rich in honours from the rulers to be in worldly renown? yet they being in equal dignity sometimes, are yet separate one from another in individual being and moreover in their desire of thinking and doing the same things. But if the kind of rank were any necessary bond gathering them into unity just like a physical coming together⁷;—they would not, being in equality of honours or rank, have been parted one from another in persons and mind so as to be one and another⁸. Where then shall we put thy *connection*, what shall we count that it wrought? did it persuade them to be of one league, did it cause that they should come together unto a mystic^k union? But you cannot say this, for reason has shewn that the connection is utterly weak to both these.

Tell me this too (for I will ask it as well, as matter of necessity), what good did the rank do for the man born from

¹ The syriac too has the clauses in this order.

^k *μυστικήν*. The Roman editors conjecture *φυσικήν*, of nature.

see 3
Epistles
p. 63

S. Matt.
v. 14.
Ib. x. 8.

chap. 3

⁷ *σύμβασις*

⁸ *ἕτερος*
καὶ ἕτερος

out a woman who was (as you said) connected with God the Book ii. 1.
 Word? for did it make him equal in glory and excellency,
 and render him as great as He too is believed to be? And
 how then will He not speak falsely saying, *My Glory will* Isa. xlii. 8.
I not give to another, and vainly hath the Divine-uttering
 Psalmist too prated, saying on this wise, *Who among the* Ps. lxxxix. 6.
clouds shall be made equal to the Lord? who shall be made
like to the Lord among the sons of God? Is not he other than
 the Word, One and by Nature and forth of God the Father,
 who in his proper person has been verily parted from union
 with Him? and how is this not clear to all? Now rank has
 not made equal to God the Word that which was con-
 nected, but it is seen to be and is in lower place: how then
 dost thou say One Christ and Son and Lord, although one
 excels, at least according to the force of reasoning, the other
 settles down below equality with Him and glory? Besides
 (for I will add this too to what I said) the Word That is forth
 of God the Father has given (according to him) His proper
 rank to him that is born of a woman: but how he says that
 this very thing has been wrought, it is meet to examine.
 Has he too been made Very Light? is he by Nature God
 and Life and Creator and Wisdom and Might, *Image* and Heb. i. 3.
Brightness of the Person of the Father? and the Endow-
 ments of the Supreme Glory, have they passed Naturally
 into some one of things made? what then is the Excellence
 in God by Nature? what great and above us, if it is possi-
 ble for the creature to be rich and that essentially¹, in the
 good things wherein Itself is? But perchance it has been
 clad in rank, as participant of the Divine Preeminence?
 there are again two undoubted sons, if it is true that
 something other and inferior by nature to Him Who
 wrought in him the participation is that which is honoured
 with relationship⁹ to Him: you are therefore caught now σχέσει
 as not even knowing what you are saying. For why do
 you blame those who attribute the words in the Gospels
 to One Person? is it not because you are inventing¹ two 1 καινοτο-
μῶν
 sons? for how is there any longer One Lord and Christ

¹ i.e. as one of the things not imparted to it, but so part of its own being,
 that it may not lose it without ceasing to be what it is.

AG. NEST. and Son, if each have his proper person and mode of be-
² λόγος ing² and moreover hypostasis withdrawing unto diverse-
³ τὸ χρῆμα, the fact irreconcilability with the other? And what is strange
⁴ βδελυ- and shews the loathsomeness⁴ of his blasphemies, he says
ρίαν that the names are common, I mean Son and Christ and
Lord. And if he say that they are common, i. e., to One
Christ and to others besides Him, his statement would
have probability: but if he ignorantly sever and supposes
that these terms befit the Word by Himself and moreover
him that is forth of a woman, there are again surely and
unmistakeably two christs and sons and lords. For he
said, „The name Christ must one while be put for the
„Godhead Itself, other while for the Manhood too, or also
„for both., But the community of name⁵ will help him
not a whit to conceive of one Christ and Son and Lord
while he severs (even though the hypostases themselves
part not one from another), and the Persons are disjoined
in their own proper diverseness.

serm. 2 p.
66 Bal.

⁵ ἡ ὁμωνυ-
μία

For making manifest to us the force of his innate un-
learning he subjoins and says,

„When therefore the Divine Scripture is about to speak
„of either the birth of Christ which was forth of the blessed
„Virgin, or His Death, it is never seen to put *God*, but
„either *Christ* or *Son* or *Lord*, seeing that these three are
„significant of the two natures, one while of this, other
„while of that, other while of this and that. As for ex-
„ample when the Scripture declares to us the Generation
„out of man^m, what says it? *God sent forth His Son*; it
„did not say, *God sent forth God the Wordⁿ*, but it takes

see above
p. 28.

Gal. iv.
4.

^m The ms. gives ἀνθρώπου, a mortal: the word *virgin* is used in this passage as cited before the council of Ephesus: I wrongly edited οὐρανοῦ, heaven, following former edition.

ⁿ Nestorius in the fourth of the sermons which Mercator has published (preached after he had received from S. Cyril the Great Letter of the Alexandrine Synod with the 12 Chapters appended, accompanied by Pope S. Celestine's Letter), preached against opponents of his and re-affirms what he

had said before, repeating a few words here and there from the older sermon from which these extracts were taken: a sermon not perhaps belonging to the volume which was first published (see above p. 4) but preached (as was certainly the next piece, p. 51) to oppose S. Cyril's letter to monks, p. 13 b. In this sermon 4, p. 82 Nestorius says, „*God sent His Son*, a name common to the natures, i. e., of man and God. He did not say, *God sending God the Word*., See too further on where

„the name which indicates the two natures. For since the Bookii.2.
 „Son is Man and God, it says, *Sent forth His Son made*
 „*from out a woman*, that when you hear the word *made out*
 „*of a woman*, then you may see the name put forth which
 „indicates the two natures, that you may call the Birth
 „from forth the blessed Virgin, the Son's Birth, for the
 „Virgin mother of Christ too bare the Son of God. But
 „since the Son of God is two-fold in His Natures, she
 „bare^o indeed the Son of God, but bare the manhood which
 „is son by reason of the connected Son. „

But we my friend, who know how to think better than § 2
 thine empty whistlings⁶ and who track out the order^p of ⁶ περιε-
 σμάτων
 1 Cor.
 viii. 6.
 the God-inspired Scripture which says that *One is God the*
Father out of whom are all things and One Lord Jesus
Christ through Whom all things were brought into being:
 when we hear that Christ has been born of the holy Virgin,
 then, then in all wisdom and zealous to go the straight
 way of the Truth, do we say that the Word Which sprang
 forth of God the Father was both Incarnate and united
 Personally to flesh and born after the flesh: and we will
 not endure thy trickery⁷, but to One and Only, the Son ⁷ περιθρε-
 ασ
 That is by Nature, will we allot the name CHRIST, with
 reason, when the Birth through the holy Virgin is spoken
 of. For common (as I said) to Him with others also will

other similarities or re-capitulations are referred to in margin. The passage which stands at the head of § 13 (see below p. 77) is from serm. 2. p. 65 Bal. and some of it also in serm. 1. p. 55.

The whole passage as cited here and in the Council of Ephesus (see next note) is given by Mercator with the title, *From the book of Nestorius himself, out of the 16th quire, on dogma*. In the volume from which the extracts were taken for the Council of Ephesus, the sermon on dogma seems to have nearly followed that which Mercator gives us complete pp. 56-70, and which is there called sermon 2: for the extracts from this sermon 2 are extracted from the 15th and 16th quires, see Mercatoris opera pp. 205, 207, 210 Bal.: while the two extracts given from the sermon on Dogma are from the 16th and 17th quires, viz. this one from the 16th (Merc. p. 201, or 17th as Greek edd.) and the extract at the head of § 8 below

from the 17th quire (Merc. p. 205). The Greek editions of the council however agree with Mercator in styling this extract *εἰς δόγμα*, but omit the words in the title to the other extract, appending it instead to two citations from the 15th quire; one of which is, in part, at the head of § 14, the other is given by S. Cyril both there and in his letter to Acacius of Melitene written after the reconciliation with the Eastern Bishops, Epp. p. 115. l. 5-9.

^o *She bare*: the Roman Editors supplied οὐκ in the margin, as if it were, *she bare not*, as is also edited in the concilia where this piece is cited before the council of Ephesus (t. iii. 1064 Col., so too ed. Commel. p. 125 init.) but Mercator gives, *peperit quidem* (= ἐγέννησε μὲν) p. 202 Bal.

^p κόσμον. The Roman Editors conjecture σκοπόν, which more falls in with S. Cyril's usual expression.

AG. NEST. such names confessedly be, for many are sons by grace
 1Cor.viii. and *gods* and *lords* both *in heaven* and *in earth*, as the Divine-
 5.

uttering Paul too writes to us: yet [they are so] as participating with Him Who is so by Nature and in imitation [of Him]. Still the name CHRIST and its reality will pertain in no wise to the bare Word from forth the Father, conceived of by us as bare [Word] by Himself and apart from flesh: but if now He be said to have emptied Himself and to have come down [to be] in servant's form and been made as we by reason of the flesh, He too will be called by reason of the anointing, Christ; for not in His own Nature has the Word being God been Anointed, but the anointing hath happened to Him in regard to His Humanity. Thus therefore when that has first entered in, in regard to which the anointing takes place (for His is the Incarnation whereto belongs the anointing), when Christ is named by us we will not (according to thy unbridled speech) suppose that just a man, severed from the Word and put apart, has been born of the holy Virgin but the very Word (as I said) out of God the Father united to
 Ps. xlv. 7. flesh and anointed humanly *with the oil of gladness* by God the Father.

But that the anointing hath happened to God the Word in respect of the manhood, when He became as we, holy Scripture will prove to us; for the Divine-uttering Jacob departing from his father's hearth was hastening on his way unto Mesopotamia and going to Laban the son of Bethuel, and having *lighted on a certain place* on the way
 Gen. xxviii. 11. thither he was lodging there and, laying his head on a stone, he sleeps: and having seen a ladder, stretching on high from earth to heaven and angels both ascending and descending by means of it and the Lord resting thereupon, he marvelled much at the vision and taking the stone he
 Ib. 18. *set it up as a pillar and poured oil upon the top of it.* Regard now herein our Lord Jesus Christ, the One and only and truly Son, as a pillared stone. For indeed He is *a choice stone, a head corner-stone, precious, set for the head of the corner and for the foundation of Zion* by God the Father.

Isa.
 xxviii. 16.
 Ps. cxviii.
 22.

Regard (I pray) moreover how it was anointed, for not Book ii. 3. the whole stone throughout did the Divine-uttering Jacob bedew with oil, but rather poured it *upon the top*⁸ of it. ⁸ or *surface*, *ἄκρον* Therefore not wholly (so to speak) nor in that the Only-Begotten is WORD, has He been anointed in respect of His proper Nature (for how could He be conceived of as participate of His own Spirit?) but rather is anointed (as I said) on the surface⁹, i. e., externally¹ and as in part ⁹ *ἄκρον*, as above ¹ *ἐξωφάνως* and on the surface on the Body that was His own by true union: and as He is said to *suffer in the flesh* humanly, ¹ S. Peter iv. 1. albeit by Nature Impassible as God; so is He conceived of as anointed in regard to the human nature, albeit Himself anointing with His own Spirit those whom it befits to partake of His holiness.

Thus are WE minded to think and are accustomed to walk aright², going on the royal and unperverted road: ² *ὁρθοποδεῖν*, from Gal. ii. 14. but *he* saying that such names are indicative of the two natures, allots to either with authority what seems good to him and is ashamed of the lowliness of speech belonging to the economy with flesh, and though you hear the blessed Paul say, *God sent forth His Son made from out a woman, made under the law*, Away, says this man, think not that the Word Which sprang forth of God has been sent, for He has not been made from out a woman, He has not been made under the law. Gal. iv. 1.

And that our words are no empty guile, but we have used rather his own speech, I will again bring forward the very things he said,

„For God (he says) *sent forth His Son made of a woman, made under the law*. Here he points out the two „natures, he says what took place as to the human nature, „for demand of the wrangler^a, Who was *made under the law*? was it God the Word? „ see serm. 4 p. 84 Bal.

And how will not he be verily distraught, who essays to § 3 overturn, as far as in him lies, things so clear and known of

^a i. e. S. Cyril himself: for Nestorius looked not kindly on S. Cyril's Letter to the monks, to which (p. 13 b) he is here referring. see note on book 4 § 5 below.

- AG. NEST. all and undoubted? Whom hath the Father sent to us out of heaven, Saviour and Redeemer? was it not the Word Which sprang forth of His Essence? Who is He
- Eph. iv. *That descended and ascended far above the Heavens that He*
10. *might fill all things?* Dost thou say that the being able to *fill all things* is the work of our nature and will you affix it to the measures of humanity? of whom hath the blessed
- S. John John written, *He that cometh from above is above all?* Or
iii. 31. will haply Himself too lie in rebuking the people of the
- Ib. viii. Jews and saying, *YE are from beneath, I am from above,*
23. and again, *I am not of this world?* For if He were man out of woman like one of the rest, and not rather the Word That is from above and out of God the Father, Incarnate and appearing in human form, how will He be conceived of as both *above* and out of heaven? how *above all* and *not of this world?* albeit a part of the world by reason of the flesh and (so to speak), according to the measure that befits the human nature, made along with all under God. There-
- Ib. xx. 17. fore He called the Father His God, though He too is God by Nature and beamed forth out of His Essence Only-Begotten Son. Of whom says the blessed David, *He sent forth His Word and healed them?* for *no elder, no angel but the Lord Himself* hath saved us, according to the Scriptures.
- Ps. cvii.
20. *Isa. lxiii.*
9. LXX.

„ But yea, he saith, God the Word able to fill all things
see serm. „ has been sent. How? for where do we say that He is not?
4p.82Bal. „ or whither will He be sent? „

Will you accuse therefore the all-wise Moses too, as having wronged in no slight degree the Ineffable glory of God? for he said that God *descended in the form of fire upon the Mount Sinai*. And if you hear the blessed David say unto God mighty over all, *Thou shalt send forth Thy Spirit and they shall be created and Thou shalt renew the face of the earth*, wilt thou then perchance put aside the Spirit-clad and suppose that he speaks falsely? for no motion involving change of place^r does the Godhead make, nor will It pass from place to place, as though the being in all and filling all things were not inherent in It. These things (I

^r κίνησιν μεταβατικὴν, Liddell and Scott quote Plutarch for this expression.

suppose) thyself too^s; but you will be reasoning Bookii.3.
again, and rising up against the true doctrines, choosing
to follow yourself alone. But you would surely have better
thoughts if you reasoned thus, that our whole speech as to
God has been framed in human wise, but is understood
as befits Him Alone.

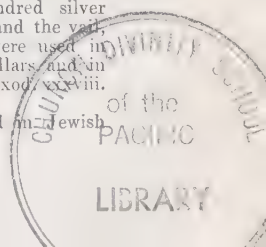
But it has troubled him not a little that the Word out
of God the Father is said to have been *made under the Law*.^{seeserm.4}
But the fear herein is nought, for He hath remained what^{p. 84 beg.}
He was, Lawgiver (that is) and God. And if He have not
been made man, He hath not been made under the Law;
but since it is true that He hath humbled Himself Who
in His own Nature is above and high, hath been made as
we Who is above the whole creation, and *being Rich be-*^{2 Cor.}
came poor through being made as we, how will He not be^{viii.9.}
said with us to have been *made under the Law* too? Shall
we not, if we think aright, conclude that the measure of
man's nature is defined to lie in his having to be subject
to the Law? for the exempt³ and above the Law and by^{3 τὸ}
Nature and in truth free will be none other than the God-^{ἀφετόν}
head. Hence when He was made flesh then was He made
under the Law too, for He paid to the collectors the di-
drachm^t, albeit in His own Nature Free as God and Son
even when He was made flesh. But if to thee it seems good
to sever into two the One and to declare to us that he
which was forth of a woman is man apart by himself, how
will he be said to have been made under the Law too, who
is of the nature which is under the Law? for not that which
hath to be subject to the Law, will be *made under the Law*, Gal. iv. 4.

^s The present text as it now stands
is ταῦτά σου καὶ παντὶν, the Roman
Editors conjecture κατὰ for καί, but it
is just as likely that the difficulty is
occasioned by omission from homoeote-
leuton, from which even a good MS.
(as is the one in which the Greek text
of these books is preserved) is rarely
exempt.

^t i. e., the tribute money of half a
shekel which was the acknowledgement
of God's sovereignty appointed in the
first instance by God, Exod. xxx. 12—
16. (It does not appear to have been a
regular tax, though there seems an

allusion to it in 2 Kings xii. 4, *the
money of every one that passeth* the ac-
count. This tax our Lord paid, S. Matt.
xvii. 24—27, yet told S. Peter that He
was *free*, as a Son.) Every male who
had attained the age of 20 was to pay :
it amounted to a hundred talents, 1775
shekels of silver: with the hundred
talents were cast a hundred silver
sockets for the sanctuary and the veil,
the 1775 silver shekels were used in
making hooks for the pillars and in
overlaying the chapters (Exod. xxviii.
25—28).

Dr. Edersheim, learned in Jewish



AG. NEST. but that which hath a Nature above Law and external to Law. For the Divine and Most High Nature alone (as I said) is both beyond law and also free, and hath no master whatever, but Itself rather ruleth all and subjecteth all to His own yoke.

But this man having missed right reasoning, slid down to this extent of impiety in his ideas and arrived at such height of awkwardness⁴, from dividing into two the One Lord Jesus Christ, as unshrinkingly⁵ to say that Emmanuel is neither truly God nor yet by Nature Son, but is so called Christ and holy, as certain other too of men like us or of those who have worshipped impure devils: for thus again hath he said:

⁴ σκαίβ-
τητος
⁵ ἀνυπο-
στόλως

„But as we say that the Creator of all is God and Moses

Exod. vii. „god; for it says, *I have made thee a god unto Pharaoh*:
1.
Ib. iv. 22. „and Israel God's son, for it says, *Israel is My firstborn*
⁶ χρισ- „son; and as we say that Saul was christ⁶, for it says, I
τόν, an- „will not stretch forth my hand upon him, because he is the
ointed
1 Sam. „Lord's christ, and Cyrus likewise, *Thus saith the Lord to*
xxiv. 6. „Cyrus *My christ*, and the Babylonian holy, for *I* (it says)
Isa. xlv. 1. „*marshal them*“: so do we say that the Lord⁷ is christ
Ib. xiii. 3. „and god and son and holy. But the community of names
⁷ τὸν
δεσπότην
LXX. „is similar, the rank not the same.,

§ 4 What are you saying? what word are you belching forth
Jer. xxiii. „out of your own heart and not out of the mouth of the Lord,
16.

customs and deeply versed in their books, tells us, “It had only been about a century before [our Lord's payment for Himself and S. Peter], during the reign of Salome-Alexandra (about 78 B. C.), that the Pharisaical party, being then in power, had carried an enactment by which the Temple-tribute was to be enforced at law It is a matter of doubt whether the half-shekel had ever been intended as an annual payment. Its first enactment was under exceptional circumstances, and the mode in which, as we are informed a similar collection was made during the reign of Joash (2 Chron. xxiv. 6—11) suggests the question whether the original institution by Moses was not treated rather as affording a precedent than as laying down a binding rule. At the time of Nehemiah we read only

of a self-imposed ordinance and at the rate of a third, not a half shekel (Neh. x. 32—34). But long before the coming of Christ very different views prevailed.” The Temple, its ministry and Services pp. 49, 50 (Religious Tract Society). Dr. Edersheim tells us that the money was paid in the month previous to the Passover. pp. 47, 48.

^u In this passage as cited before the Council of Ephesus are given the words which S. Cyril also (see de Trin. dial. 6. p. 589 e and elsewhere,) with the Alexandrine MS. of the LXX. reads, ἡγιασμένοι εἰσιν, *they have been sanctified* (corresponding to *My sanctified ones* in our version) and *I lead them*. These words are required to explain Nestorius' assertion that the Babylonian was called *holy*.

as it is written? No one calleth *Jesus Anathema* save in Bookii.4.
 Beelzebub. As Moses for instance may be conceived of or ¹ Cor. xii.
 called by us God, so will Christ too? after the likeness of ^{3.} CHRIST
 Israel, will He too be Son, tell me? O impiety! O words ^{not like}
 that reck not of lifting up themselves against the glory of ^{Moses}
 our Saviour! O sheer stupidity⁸! and that o'ercomes all ⁸ δυσμα-
 hesitancy in respect I mean of unholy daring against the ^{θίας}
 doctrines of the Church. Let the blessed David now too
 sing, *The enemies of the Lord lied unto Him*: for the Ps. lxxxii.
 Divine-uttering Moses was by nature a man as we and ^{15.}
 LXX.
 nought else: but when on God saying, *Come I am sending* Exod. iii.
thee to Pharaoh king of Egypt and thou shalt bring the chil- ^{10.}
dren of Israel forth of the land of Egypt, he was putting ⁹ ισχυο-
 forward as reason for begging off, his slowness of speech ^{μυθίαν,}
^{cf. ισχυό-}
 and want of utterance, *since yesterday and the third day*, he ^{φωνος} Ex.
 heard God say, *See I have made thee a god to Pharaoh and* ^{iv. 10.}
*Aaron thy brother shall be thy interpreter*¹. For feeble was ^{Ib. iv. 10.}
 the law to rid any from bondage unto the devil, but on ^{Ib. vii. 1.}
 Christ becoming our Mediator, this too has been achieved,
 just as here when Aaron was along with the Divine-utter-
 ing Moses, Israel was delivered from the bondage in Egypt.
 But since Christ was about in due course of time to be
 made under the Law too, in that He was as we and was
 man, Aaron was put in second place to Moses^v. And the
 plan of the mystery is thus,—but if one should choose to
 say this too, that by the calling of God has that mighty
 Moses too been honoured, according to this which has been
 said to us in common and as by God's favour and munifi-
 cence, I said, *Ye are gods and all of you sons of the Most* Ps.
High:—is Christ in this way God? yet how is not this ^{lxxxii. 6.}
 madness and the empty froth² of an unlearned mind? for ² ἀπο-
 the one (as I said) being man by nature has been honoured ^{βρασμα}
 with the mere title only, the Other is truly God (for the
 Word was God) in human form, having the preeminence
 over all of His own Nature unmutilated (for not in change
 for the worse will be the Divine Nature by reason of Its

^v See this at greater length in S. Cyril's Glaphyra on Exodus, lib. i. cap. 1. pp 305 sq. and especially 306 c; also lib. iii. 3. pp. 327 sq.

- AG. NEST. descending to communicate in blood and flesh), and verily He is recognized as God when appearing as Man also. And a clear demonstration of this are the things that have been written in the Gospels concerning Him. For the Divine-uttering John said, *Now when He was in Jerusalem in the feast, many believed in His Name when they saw the miracles which He was doing, but Jesus Himself did not trust Himself to them, because He knew all things and needed not that any one should testify of man, for He knew what was in man* : albeit the being able to see the heart of man and to know its secrets, will not belong to any one (whence should it ?) of men like us, nor yet to ought other of things made, but rather to Him Alone Who is said to *fashion our hearts by Himself*. Then how has Emmanuel, being called God, been honoured like Moses with the mere title alone, and is not rather in truth that which He is also said to be ? Thus again does John write of Him, *for He whom God sent speaketh the words of God and giveth not the Spirit by measure* ^w. Understandest thou then how, albeit beheld a man as we, *He speaketh the words of God* ? For to God Alone Who is by Nature and truly will pertain as something choice and above the creature, the being able by a word to achieve what He will and to render partakers of the Holy Ghost them who have been justified in faith :—and one may see that Christ is in this case. For He said to the leper, *I will, be clean*, to the widow's son, *Young man, to thee say I, Arise* : and His own Disciples He manifested partakers of the Holy Ghost, for *He breathed on them, saying, Receive ye the Holy Ghost*. Then how will He Who has advanced to this point and been crowned with God-befitting renown be god after such sort as was Moses ? whose heart knew he ? who hath believed on his name ? whom hath he justified through faith in himself ? where hath he as son spoken the words of God ? albeit he hath openly cried unto them of Israel, *Thus saith*
- S. John ii. 23—25.
- Ps. xxxiii. 15.
- S. John iii. 34.
- S. Matt. viii. 3.
S. Luke vii. 14.
- S. John xx. 22.

^w οὐκ ἐκ μέτρου δίδωσι τὸ πνεῦμα. The received translation after δίδωσι adds ὁ θεὸς with the Codex Alexandrinus, *God giveth not the Spirit by measure*, the words, *to Him* are added to fill up the sense. But the Codex Si-

naiticus and the three uncial MSS. of the Alexandrine family BCL have not ὁ θεὸς, whence S. Cyril takes Christ to be the nominative case, i. e. *He whom God sent*. See in his Encyclic Epistle to Nestorius, 3 Epistles p. 62.

the Lord^x, and hath a servant's measure, for he was made *faithful as a servant in the house of God.*

Book ii. 4.

Heb. iii.

5.

not like
Israel

And if Emmanuel was son in the same way too as was Israel who was made so after the flesh, thou hast brought down among bondservants Him Who is in His own Nature Free, even though He became in the form of a bondman by reason of the flesh and the things thereto pertaining: thou hast set in equal measure with the sons by grace Him on account of whom they have been enriched with the grace of sonship: for He has been called first-born of us by reason of the manhood, yet even so hath remained Only-begotten as God^y. Therefore (as saith the most wise Paul) the powers above are bidden to *worship the First-begotten* when introduced by the Father *into the world*, and on learning the mystery regarding Him, with ceaseless praises do they extol the One and by Nature and truly Son. For if He gives *authority* to them that *received Him to become children of God*, as John saith, and if it is true that His Spirit effects that we too should become sons³ (for *God sent forth the Spirit of His Son into our hearts crying Abba, Father*), none who are accustomed to think aright will endure this man saying that He too is son in such manner as was Israel.

Ib. i. 6.

S. John
i. 12.

Gal. iv. 6.
³ υιοποιεῖ

And how was He in such wise too christ and holy, as may be called christ both Cyrus the King of the Persians and yet again the Persians and Medes themselves? for it were time to say that neither has Christ been sanctified humanly albeit the Holy Ghost soared down upon Him in form of a dove. For Cyrus son of Cambyses led an expedition against the land of the Babylonians in his time, but he was in error, and used to offer worship to foul devils: but when, on God stirring him up and rousing him into wrath, he

not like
Cyrus &
the Medes

^x This contrast between our Master and our fellow-servants to whom He had delegated His authority before His own Advent, is argued on by S. Cyril below, Schol. § 26, also Thes. cap. 12 p. 108 c d and often.

^y S. Cyril in his Thesaurus, cap. 25 p. 238 d says, "He is therefore Only-Begotten by Nature, as Only out of the Father, God out of God, and Light beaming forth of Light: First-Begotten for our sakes, in order that all the creation engrafted as it were in a certain im-

mortal root and springing up out of Him Who ever is (for all things have been made through Him and consist) might itself too be preserved for aye," (ἀνα-βλαστήσασα γέγονε γὰρ τὰ πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ συνέστηκεν εἰς αἰὲ καὶ αὐτὴ διασώζεται is Aubert's text slightly emended from the beautiful Munich Codex 331, written in the tenth century). See also De Trin. ad Herm. dial. 1. p. 405 c: and 7th Paschal homily (A.D. 420) p. 103; 10th Paschal homily (A.D. 423) p. 159 e.

AG. NEST. took the land of the Babylonians, by a name common ⁴, albeit not anointed with the Holy Ghost, he was called christ. And in this way were the Persians and Medes holy who were his fellows (for they too *served the creature more than God the Creator* and worshipped the works of their own hands); but since the offering that was once, according to the words of the Mosaic Law, separated ⁵ unto God, whether calf or sheep, was called holy; therefore have they too been called holy through the Prophet's voice, by reason they were set apart by the Divine assent to take captive the land of the Babylonians. If then Emmanuel is in such sort christ as was Cyrus too, and in such wise holy as were the Medes and Persians, one might with reason say as of their absurdity of notion that neither hath He been anointed with the Holy Ghost nor is He holy at all. The Divine

AG. NEST. ⁴ κοινῶ

Rom. i. 25.

⁵ ἀφορμισθέν, Exod. xii. 12. &c.

Ps. xlv. 7. David will therefore lie saying unto Him, *Thou lovedst righteousness and hatedst wrong, therefore God, Thy God, anointed Thee with the oil of gladness above Thy fellows.*

And he chattering after this sort against the Preeminence and glory of our Saviour, thinks that he thrusts away the charge of impiety, by saying something childish and without understanding, „for the community (he says) of „names is like, not the rank the same.,„ How, tell me, for I do not understand? For if He is in such wise God as was Moses too, and in such wise son as was Israel, and in such wise christ as was Cyrus and moreover in such wise holy as were the Medes, how will He escape having to be in equality of rank with them?

Now therefore you will be caught in having blasphemed against the very Nature of the Word too, for thou saidst again,

„Say of Him Who assumed that He is God, add of that „which is assumed that it is the servant's form, bring in „next the dignity of connection, that of the two the sway „is common, that of the two the dignity is the same; while „the natures remain, acknowledge the union of rank. „

He divides therefore again into two, in exceeding lack of understanding he lavishes on rank the force of union,

haply not understanding what union is, and what the rank ⁶ Book ii. 5. really is. But this we say; he said that of the two na- ⁶ τί τῆς ἀξίας τὸ χρῆμα tures one is the sway, one the Dignity. Since then he who is in equality of glory with God the Word will not surpass Moses in respect of being god, it is I suppose clear that the very Word which is forth of God, will have equal status in nature and glory with Moses, for if the mean ⁷ be like ⁷ τὸ διὰ μέσου and in every respect have exact resemblance with the first and third, the plan ⁸ of their nature will not be diverse. ⁸ λόγος

But haply he will say that the mode of rank is not nature: how therefore do you deem it fit to gather into one (as yourself say) sway and to crown with equal rank things essentially so far severed from participation one with another and also from equality? for where a nature is wholly in inferior place, the other overtopping it, how will there accrue to it both equality of honours and even dignity and the mode of glory be not diverse?

But that on mentioning connection, haply conceived of as that of mere proximity and juxta-position, or as an accidental one, himself rises up against his own words, building what he undid and setting up what has been overthrown, will be clear by this again also: for he said thus;

„Therefore ² I would have you hold fast with all assurance: there is no severance of the connection of the „dignity of the sonship, there is no severance of his being „Christ, of the Godhead and Manhood there is a severance; „Christ is indivisible, in that He is Christ, for we have not „two christs nor two sons, for there is not with us a first „and a second, nor yet other and other, nor again another „son and another again; but the One is Himself twofold, „not in rank but in nature.,,

² This is given differently in Marius Mercator's collection of extracts made by S. Cyril from Nestorius' writings. The 17th extract is as follows, „Also from another tractate quire 25. Wherefore I would have you secure in your assent or acclamation [κρατεῖν for κρατεῖν, no doubt rightly]. There is no severance of the connection and of Godhead [deitatis, perhaps, dignitatis, dignity] nor of the sway. In that the Son is Christ,

there is no severance in these, but in regard to Godhead and manhood there is severance. In that He is Christ, the Son is undivided, in that He is Son, He is undivided. For we have not two christs and two sons, nor is there with us a first christ and a second, nor one and another, nor again one son and again another son, but Himself the Same, Himself a twofold Son, not in respect of dignity but of nature.,, p. 117 ed. Baluz.

AG. NEST.

§ 6 Tell me again what it is you term inseverable connection: is it the union, I mean in respect of Person, which we set forth, striving together for the doctrines of the Truth? or is it this which is conceived of as one of juxtaposition and proximity of any to anything? for thus does the God-inspired Scripture take the word. And verily He spake to the most holy Moses, when He was discoursing with him respecting that olden tabernacle, *And thou shalt make fifty taches of gold and connect⁹ the curtains one to other with the taches*. For being five and each having individually the being other than the rest, they were connected by the taches. But not thus do we say that the union has been wrought as to Christ, for neither as one may be connected with another, either in respect to like mindedness or bodily nearness, was He too like this, but (as I have repeatedly said) He made His own the Body which was taken from forth the holy Virgin; and we say that the Word out of God has been truly united to flesh not without a soul.

Exod.
xxvi. 6.
⁹ συνάψεις
1b. 3.

Hence if the force of the connection which has been spoken of by him, signify the union which we mean, i. e. of Person, reasonably will he have said that there is no severance of Christ, in that He is Christ; for He is „not „one and another, nor yet son and son, other and other, „first and second, „but One both before flesh and with flesh: for thus will He be in respect of rank (as THOU sayest) and also of sway, inseverable, yea rather the Same. Then how dost thou say that the One and Inseverable is twofold, and that not in regard of rank but of nature? for not because the Word out of God the Father having taken flesh, proceeded forth man as we, will He for this reason be called also twofold, for One and that not without flesh is He Who is in His proper Nature external to flesh and body^a. For as, were one to kill a man such as we are, he would not with reason be accused of having wronged two men but one

^a *flesh and body*. Thus I have translated, following the translation given of this piece of S. Cyril by the Syriac MS. in the British Museum (Add. 17151 fol. 21 v) written in the seventh century. The MS. contains a correspondence between Severus Archbishop of Antioch and

Sergius the Grammarian on the controversy about the two Natures in the Incarnation. Severus quotes S. Cyril throughout his writings, and this passage is cited in Severus' reply to Sergius' second letter. The Greek has the more usual phrase, *flesh and blood*.

alone, even though the man be conceived of as being of soul and body, and the nature of the things that have been brought together be not the same, but diverse: so again must we conceive of Christ, for He is not twofold, but One and Only Lord and Son is the Word from forth God the Father, not without flesh. For that of Manhood and Godhead most vast is the difference or interval I myself too would allow, for other in respect of the mode of their being and nothing like one to another are plainly the things which have been named. But when the mystery Christ-ward is brought before us, the plan¹ of the union ignores not indeed the difference, but puts aside the severance, not confounding the natures or immingling them but, because the Word of God when He partook of flesh and blood, even thus is conceived of and called One Son. But you^b in saying that they ought not to be called two christs, nor should one confess two sons, and hereby filching² the semblance of rightness in dogma, are caught in the act of saying two christs, and dividing into his own diverseness man and God, and you endeavour to shew that the one is operated, the other operates: for your words are thus,

„The^c good glory³ of the Only-Begotten one while is ascribed to the Father, for *it is*, He says, *My Father which glorifieth Me*, other while to the Spirit, for *the Spirit of Truth*, He says, *shall glorify Me*, other while to the power of Christ, for *they*, it says, *went forth and preached the word everywhere, the Lord co-working and confirming the word through the signs that followed.*„

If he says that the Only-Begotten Word of God, as § 7

^b I have translated οὐδὲ as if it were σὺν δὲ, following the conjecture of the Roman Editors.

^c S. Cyril had looked on these words of Nestorius as replete with gravest untruth, for S. Cyril's seventh chapter is, "If any says that Jesus has been wrought-in as man by God the Word and that the good glory of the Only-Begotten has been put around Him as though He were other than He, be he anathema." They may belong to one of Nestorius' earlier sermons. Mercator (p. 110 ed. Bal.) cites them as being out of the

second volume, first quire (i. e. of one of the volumes of published sermons, see above p. 48 note n). Mercator tells us that this volume began, „I have yet much to say to you.,“ (Mercator has apparently only three extracts out of the first volume, i. e. two on the Creed, and the one given above p. 51.) In the extracts made for the Council of Ephesus, part of the passage is also cited and there too as taken out of the first quire: see Merc. p. 207, top of page, and the corresponding place in the different editions of the Council of Ephesus.

1 λόγος

2 ὑποκλέπτων

3 εὐδοξία

S. John viii. 54.
Ib. xvi. 13, 14.

S. Mark xvi. 20.

AG. NEST. though lacking glory in that He is and is conceived of as Word and not yet Incarnate, is glorified by the Father and the Holy Ghost :—that he both blunders^d and has missed the truth, I will leave saying for the present (for occasion leads us to something else) ; but he seems to me to have forgotten what he had just now thought out and said, for he said, see p. 59. „Not one and another is Christ, not other and other son, „for we have not two Christs and two sons.,, But, O most understanding, would I say, if thou affirm that the good glory of the Only-Begotten is ascribed to the power of Christ, how will He be not one and another, or how not wholly and surely two? for if not the same be giver and receiver, or he ascribe to another than himself the things which accrue to him by nature, Christ hath wrought being possessed⁴, as being other than the Only-Begotten: for if the good glory of the Only-Begotten have been (as you say) ascribed to him; and the Divine-uttering disciples using the power that came from him, preached and wrought miracles, how is that not true that I said? for he hath wrought using other's power, that he which wrought and not himself^e rather may be glorified by those in the world. What then (tell me) appears there more in Him than in the holy Apostles? for they have wrought wonders not by their own power, and this themselves clearly confessed, for they were worthy of admiration in knowing this too and glorifying Him Who worketh in them. Then how ought not Christ Who according to thee was possessed⁵ by another and had from without the good glory of the Only-Begotten, to have proclaimed to those who approach Him as God, and supplicate succour from Him, In the name of the Only-Begotten, or in His Might, be to thee this good thing: for so used to do the all-wise disciples, every where naming Jesus of Nazareth. But to no one whatever hath He declared this, but rather to His own power used He to attribute what was accomplished, one time saying to the blind man, *Believe ye that I am able to do this?* and requiring⁶ their assent, at another ordering⁶ with authority saying,

⁴ ἐν ἡ-
γῆκε...
ἐνεργού-
μενος

⁵ ἐνεργού-
μενος

S. Matt.
ix. 28.

⁶ ἀπαίτων

^d παραπαταί, but perhaps the reading should be παραπαταί, is beside himself, as elsewhere.

^e I have translated αὐτό as if it were αὐτός, following the conjecture of the Roman Editors.

I will, be clean. Why dost thou not, letting go the fables Book ii. 7.
fit for old women which have been invented by thyself alone, S. Matt. viii. 3.
occupy thyself with wise mind about the depth of the
mystery^f?

But one may see that he little reckes of things needful unto profit, but is afraid lest he let drop ought true and be caught thinking anything praiseworthy: and thinks every thing that is most discordant and makes a condemnation utterly inconsiderate of the doctrines of the church, albeit he should have remembered God saying by the mouth of Ezekiel to those who are over the spiritual flocks, *Ye ate the good pasture and drank the pure⁷ water and troubled the residue with your feet, and My flock fed on the treadings down of your feet and drank the water troubled by your feet.* Ezek. xxxiv. 18, 19.
⁷ καθεστηκός
For when we apply our minds to the God-inspired Scriptures, we eat the good pasture, as it is written, and we drink the untroubled⁷ water, i. e. the unmixed with falsehood, translucent and most pure word of the Spirit: but if we thicken it and imingle therewith like mud the cheerlessness of our own devices, we plot against the flocks of the Saviour.

And that this too is true, the things which he has thought out and heedlessly said of Christ, will shew; for it is thus:

„For God the Word even before the Incarnation was
„Son and God and of one mind^g with the Father, but in
„the last times He took the form of a servant. Yet
„being before this Son, and being [so] called, after the
„assumption He cannot be called Son separately^h, lest we
„teach the doctrine⁹ of two sons. But since he has been
„connected with Him which is in the beginning Son, Him
„who was connected with him, he may not admit of severance
„in respect of the dignity of sonship, in respect I say of the

^f S. Cyril in his sixth Dialogue to Hermias explains that “Hence He is glorified by the Father not as though He needed glory while conceived of as apart from flesh, and believed God forth of God: but since He was man, which does not possess as fruit of his proper nature, the power of working God-befitting acts, He receives the power by the Union and Concurrence (συνδρομήν)

Unspeakable such as is conceived to be that of the Word with His human nature.” De Trin. ad Herm. dial. 6. p. 601 a b.

^g συναίνων. The Greek as cited before the Council of Ephesus gives rightly συνών, which is a very common usage of S. Cyril. p. 126 ed. Comm. and t. iii. 1068 Col. The Latin has *with* for *and* *co-with* (Mercator p. 205 Bal.)

^h κεχωρισμένως
⁹ δογματίσθαι

AG. NEST. „dignity of sonship, not in respect of the natures. Where-
 „fore God the Word is called Christ also, since He has His
 „connection with Christ perpetual. And it is not possible
¹ ἀπὸ κρλί- „that God the Word should do ought without the manhood,
² βωται „for it has been with all exactitude brought ¹ unto exact
³ δογματι- „connection, not unto deification, as the wise ones of the
⁴ στῶν τῶν „neo-dogmatists ² say.,
⁵ νεωτέρων

§ 8

He that durst say that the good glory of the Only-Begotten has been ascribed to the power of Christ, and that plucked asunder the bond of Oneness, gathers again into union and again dissolves it and parts the natures one from other. And most plentifully does he vainly talk and rhodomontade ³ to us respecting these things, so that even though he should say ought that tendeth unto orthodoxy, he may be clearly convicted of not knowing what he saith. For he says here that the Word of God, is both Son and, God even before the Incarnation, moreover that in the last, times He took the form of a servant., Tell me therefore, if I do not seem to thee to say what is meet, Who is it now that is said to be made man? and what dost thou say that being made man is? who is he that took the servant's form? and how was it taken by him? That in saying therefore that a man was made man, you will display as worthy of ridicule your own understanding, how can one doubt? for he that is man by nature ^h, how will he be made what he was, and pass as though to somewhat else, in respect I mean of nature? that which in its own nature is not free, how will it be said to have become bond, as though it were not so at the beginning? Hence to have been made man, will not pertain unto a man, far from it, and to take the form of a servant, belongs not to him who even at the beginning has the measure of bondservice, but to Him rather Who being not man by Nature, is believed to have been made so, and Who being Lord of all as God, abased Himself in our condition, uniting to Himself Personally the human nature, and taking the form of the servant. For thus will that too be true which thou

³ τεραπεύ-
 εται

see pp.
 16, 32

see p. 53

^h See this also in the *Quod Unus Christus*, below.

saidst, that „after the assumption, He cannot be called Book ii. 8.
 „ Son separately lest we teach the doctrine of two sons.,,

And the right and unperturbed and straight-going path of doctrines, is this and no other. But he again who mentioned to us the being-made-man of the Word Which is forth of the Father, borne almost straightway unto forgetfulness of what he said, severs again into two the One, both in vile sort ⁴ floating in feeblest ⁵ ideas ⁱ and using ever words untested, for he said, „ But since he has been connected with ⁴ ἀσυνφύ-
⁵ λως
⁵ ἐξιτηλί-
 ais
 „ Him, Who is in the beginning Son, Who was connected
 „ with him, he may not admit of severance, as regards the
 „ dignity of sonship, as regards dignity I say of sonship,
 „ not as regards the natures., Rightly, my friend, dost thou reject as ^k unprofitable that which seems to be insecure, studiously has it been set before thee to use ever vigilant mode of speech. For lo, lo, severing the natures, thou gatherest them into union as regards the dignity of sonship. Sufficeth therefore unto true union in things by nature severed one from another, the sameness or identity of names and the dignity in respect of this? for thus too does it seem good to thee to say. Therefore since the name Christ, and moreover son and lord, have been given to others too as names common [to several] (for very many have been made christs and have been called sons and lords); they too will be as regards the dignity of sonship, both dis-severable one from another and all of them one in respect of the union which you think was wrought in respect of Christ too. But a man such as we will be wholly distinct from the Word out of God: how therefore they have not been severed, how too there is one son, I cannot conceive, unless we say that the human nature and the Word have come together by a true union.

But since one must, on account of these words of his, carry round the argument even unto absurdity ⁶, that on all ⁶ εἰς ἐκτό-
 πους ἐν-
 νοίας, to

ⁱ νοημάτων. Thus reads the MS., the Roman Editors give ὀνομάτων and put νοημάτων in the margin as a reading.

^k There is a slight lacuna in the MS.,

but caused only by the erasure of δοκεῖν which had been written twice over, as Dr. Schöll, who collated this MS., says. I have supplied ὥς which seems almost necessary to complete the sense.

the re-
 ductio ad
 absurdum

AG. NEST. sides he may be convicted of having thought not aright, come now, come, let us say this too. For if the dignity of sonship suffices unto union, since the Word Which is from forth Him is called and is Son of God the Father, and the name is common to many more, where is the harm (tell me) of saying that the rest too all of them have themselves been united with Him, in order that Emmanuel may have nought more than they? for the claim⁷ of the same names will (it seems) be contending with Him and be striving for equality, and the mode of connection will lie in bare and mere appellation or community of name. What then is being made man understood to be? what too the descent in the servant's form? for if the mode of the being made man is (according to him) a mere connection, and consist in the dignity only of sonship, what is to hinder our saying that it has been effected in regard to all the rest too? But the friend of learning⁸ sees assuredly the uncomeliness of what is said. Whither therefore is he now borne off, distraught, unto things not lawful? by us shall be said to him what is uttered by Jeremiah's voice, *Thou waxedst weary in much journeying*, for he is tossed to and fro borne about with every wind, as saith the most wise Paul. Therefore receive the anchor of the soul sure and stedfast, set thy feet upon a rock. If thou sayest that the Word of God was made man, this will suffice to shew that He Who is above all the creation was made as we, He took the servant's form although He possessed freedom as God; for He was in equality with the Father, Who possesseth dominion over all. Cease to sever the natures after the union: for that one thing and another is the Divine Nature and the nature of man it will be fit to know, and needful I deem to those who are sound in mind⁹ (for they are parted one from another by incomparable differences), but in regard to Christ the Saviour of us all, do thou having brought them together into union true and of Person, reject severance, for thus wilt thou confess one Christ and Son and Lord.

But I know not how the inventor of feeble¹ doctrines has made exceeding petty account of the fact of union, and thrusting away both it (as seems) and the might of

⁷ τὸ
ἡξιωμένον

⁸ ὁ φιλο-
μαθής

Isa. lvii.
10.
Eph. iv.
14.

Heb. vi.
19.
Ps. xl. 2.

⁹ ἀρτί-
φροσι
above p.
61.
ἀληθῆ τε
καὶ καθ'
ὑπό-
στασιν

¹ ἐξίτη-
λων

the truth, hath gone again unto what liketh himself and Book ii. 8.
 saith, „ Therefore is God the Word called Christ also, see-
 „ ing that He hath His connection with Christ perpetual.
 „ And it is not possible for God the Word to work
 „ ought without the manhood ; for it hath been accurately
 „ adjusted unto exact connection, not deification, as the
 „ wise ones of the neo-dogmatists say. „ When therefore
 he says that the Word from forth God the Father has been
 separately called Christ, as having connection with Christ,
 i. e., with another, how has he not idly prated in saying
 that after the assumption He cannot be so styled separa-
 tely? since not as One is that conceived of by us which
 is said to have been accidentally² connected with ought ² σχετι-
 κῶς
 else, for two of a surety will be rightly conceived to be
 the things which come together, and not one, itself con-
 nected with itself. False speech therefore are his words,
 and in another sense are they idle talk : but we after the
 union, though one name God the Word, conceive not of
 Him apart from His own flesh ; though one say Christ, we
 recognize the Word Incarnate¹. What then is the mode
 of the connection which you speak of conceived to be? for
 if you say that the human nature has been united Person-
 ally with the Word That sprang forth from God, why (tell
 me) do you insult the Divine Flesh? albeit you refuse not
 to worship it, while the duty of being worshipped belongs
 only to the Divine and Ineffable Nature : but if you do
 not think that a true union took place, but call rather by
 the name of connection, the rank which consists in identity
 of name and in mere and only equality of style, why do you
 prate in solemn language³, saying that he that is born of ³ σεμενολη-
 ρεῖς
 the woman has „ been accurately adjusted unto exact con-
 „ nection, „ i. e., with the Word? for they are synonymous⁴ ⁴ δμώνυ-
 μον
 one with another, son with son, and lord with lord, nor are

¹ i. e. S. Cyril says here and elsewhere (de recta fide ad Imperatorem 32 e, ad Arcadium Marinamque 47 b 70 e 85 e 115 d 120 d, ad Pulcheriam et Eudociam 131 b 148 b, in his Explanation of xith chapter, and three or four times in the treatise Quod Unus Christus) that the name Jesus Christ does not belong to

God the Son before the Incarnation, except as looking on to the Incarnation (de recta fide ad Arcadium Marinamque 120 d) but is the name of God the Son Incarnate God and Man : not as though there were a connection with Christ but because “ God and Man are One Christ.”

AG. NEST. the names a whit inferior one to another, and to inquire into any superiority in them is (I suppose) idle, for son than son *qua* son, hath neither greater nor less. You are therefore talking superfluously (clearly so) in saying that he has been „accurately adjusted unto exact connection., But to say that they have been accurately adjusted one to another will belong (as appears to me) not to things possessing an identity of name, but to those rather, which obtain the equality and likeness in every thing of things that are believed to be one. As for example we say that there hath been accurately adjusted unto exact correspondence to the form of such an one, either the son that is begotten from out him, or one might say his image: but as regards connection, how can things be conceived of and said to have been accurately adjusted?

But himself interpreted to us the force of connection: for „it is not possible (he says) that God the Word should do „ought without the human nature., Likeminded therefore with one another and harmonious according to thee, and from common counsel advancing unto each action shall we believe the pair of sons spoken of by thee. How then are there not two christs and sons and lords? But you affirm
⁵ ὁργάνω (it is like) that the Word used His Body as an instrument ⁵. Yet if you say One Son and One Person, the Incarnate Person of the Word, He will not be an instrument of Deity, but rather will use as an instrument His own Body, just as
 see de
 recta fide
 ad Imp.
 18 d.
 a man's soul too does. Therefore confess One, not dividing the natures, at the same time knowing and holding, that
⁶ λόγος of the flesh the count ⁶ is one; of the Godhead again, that which beseems It alone: for we say that the flesh of the Word by no means became Godhead, but rather Divine, as being His own. For if the flesh of a man is called human, what hinders that that of God the Word should be called Divine? why then dost thou mock at the beauty of the Truth, telling us of the deification of the holy flesh, and all but casting in the teeth of those who have chosen to think aright, a god-making ⁷, albeit thyself sayest,
⁷ θεοποίησιν

„In order therefore that it might be pointed out to the

„Magi too, Who this is That is worshipped by them, and BOOK ii. 10.
 „to Whom the grace of the Holy Ghost led them—that
 „it was not to a mere babe viewed by itself, but to a body
 „connected ineffably with God. „

Since therefore he says that the body has been ineffably § 9
 united to God, and that which is truly ineffable is beyond
 understanding and speech, true of a surety is the union or
 the (according to him) connection. For such things are
 ineffable, and of things that thus come together with one
 another one would not (I deem) know the mode. But if
 thou art able to say it, and deemest that thou canst declare
 the force of the connection, how is it any longer ineffable?

But I marvel that albeit he says that the Body has been
 connected with God and that ineffably, he does not say
 that it is His very own, in order that it might be conceiv-
 ed of as one with Him, but parts again into man and God,
 separately and apart, the One Christ and Lord Jesus, and
 feigns that he thinks aright, when he says,

„Yet ^m not mere man is Christ (o accuser) but Man alike
 „and God: had He been God alone, it had been right,
 „o Apolinarius, to say, Why seek ye to kill Me, God,
 „Who have told you the truth? This is He Who was en-
 „circled with the Thorny Crown, this He Who said, *My* S. Matt.
 „God, *My God, why forsookest Thou Me?* this He Who en- xxvii. 46.
 „dured the three days death, this do I worship with the
 „Godhead as co-partner in ^s the Divine sway. „

View now I pray again how he snatches at and puts § 10
 around his own words the form ⁹ of the truth (for „ not
 „mere man, says he, is Christ, but Man alike and God, „)
 yet severs again and says that He is not One, and stupidly
 takes hold of something without foundation ¹ and constructs 1 ἀνυπό-
θετόν
 what pleases himself. For as though some one were saying
 that the Word had appeared to us upon earth bare and

^m This passage again is from sermon 2
 in Mercator's selection: it occurs at p. 64
 Bal. In the sermon itself, after *who have
 told you the truth*, is added, *but now He
 says, why seek ye to kill Me that Man
 who was crowned &c.* Words here and
 there are quoted by the same Mercator,

as translations of S. Cyril's citations
 of Nestorius (p. 114 Bal.) and some
 other words among the passages cited
 before Council of Ephesus where they
 are said to be taken from the sixteenth
 quire. (ib. p. 207 & Conc. t. iii. 1068
 Col.)

AG. NEST. without flesh, and had conversed with us, and wrought His Divine signs, or that He was common man and that not the Word Himself has been made Man:—he says, „Not mere man is Christ, but God also., But we, most excellent sir (will I say), even though we say that He is Man alike and God, do not speak thus as putting them apart, but rather knowing that the Same even before the Incarnation was Son and God and Word of the Father, and after it hath become man as we and been made flesh. But he asserting that He ought not to be conceived of as mere man but God and Man, allots the Thorny Crown and the rest of the Sufferings to man severally and apart, while he confesses that he worships this man with the Godhead¹, and yet greater impiety, as not being (it is like) truly God and Son, but co-partner in the sway of the Word. For that he clearly severs, his confession that he ought to be worshipped *along* ¹with the Godhead will clearly shew. For that which is co-worshipped with other is altogether other than that with which it is co-worshipped. But we are accustomed to worship Emmanuel with one worship, not severing from the Word the Body That was Personally united to Him.

see chapter 8

But it is meet to investigate what the being „advocate „of² the Divine Sway„ means. For did our Lord Jesus Christ Himself too like one of the holy Apostles and Evangelists preach to the world another christ or son and lord, as having the Divine Sway or Authority over all, and Himself too speak for³ the glory of another? albeit the choir of God's heralds³ proclaim to the world Jesus Christ who is forth of the seed of David according to the flesh, and the plan⁴ of our faith advances through our confession to Him-

² or, co-partner in, *συνήγορον*

³ *τῶν θεηγόρων*

⁴ *τρόπος*

¹ See S. Cyril's eighth chapter (3 Epistles p. 68) in which he objects to *συνπροσκυνεῖσθαι τῷ Θεῷ Λόγῳ*, as here to *προσκυνεῖν σὺν τῇ θεότητι*, in that the co-worshipping introduces the notion of Two, while God the Son Incarnate is One.

² *συνηγόρευσε*, advocate or second, in reference to *συνήγορον* above. Nestorius seems to have used *συνήγορον* in the sense of *partner*. Mercator translates it

co-operarium. S. Cyril takes it in its natural meaning, *one who speaks for*, and then suggests that Nestorius may be using the word for *one who has equal freedom of speech*, though S. Cyril adds that that is not the real meaning of the word. On the other hand, a little below at the beginning of § 11, S. Cyril uses the term *συνήγορον ἡτοι συνεργόν*, the latter word being equivalent to the *co-operarius* of Mercator.

ward, and we are justified, believing not on a mere man like BOOK II. 10. us, but on Him Who is by Nature and truly God. And the Gentiles indeed were living in the world *without God*, when Eph. ii. 12. they knew not Christ, as blessed Paul saith, but since they knew Him they have not remained in ignorance of Him Who is by Nature God. Let him therefore teach us Whose glory and sway it was that Christ spoke for, albeit of them that came to Him He demanded faith in Himself, and this see above p. 30 faith in Him He attributed to the Father : and verily He said, *Believe in Me and in God believe*¹, and again, *He that* S. John xiv. 1. *believeth on Me believeth not on Me but on Him That sent Me*, Ib. xii. 44, 45. *and he that seeth Me seeth Him That sent Me.*

But haply to *speaking for*⁵ according to him may mean the same as to *speaking as*⁶ : I concede, albeit the word has other meaning. Then how may man speak as God (according to thee) when enduring the contumelies of the Jews? For come let us view the speech befitting each. It will be meet for Him Who is in truth God by Nature to say, I am invisible, impalpable and superior to suffering, moreover Incorporeal, Life and Life-giving and above all as God : the other expounding to us his own nature how it is, will reasonably say, I am visible and palpable, passible, subject to decay and subject to God. Will then he who says such things speak as⁷ He That excels and is superior, as regards the count⁸ of His own Nature? how were this not an unlearned thing to say? for one surely will speak falsely, either that one or this. But in saying advocacy or speaking for, that it is nought else than to speak for⁹ another, 9 συνηγορεῖν you confess even against your will who tell us of connection and of One Christ and Lord : and severing them into two you worship them, yea rather you co-worship, and think that you are freeing the Church from the charge of god-making¹, yourself engoddening² a man, and not saying One Son even though He be not conceived of apart from His own flesh : for then would you worship Him un-

¹ S. Cyril on S. John xiv. 1 (p. 761 e) says, "for He bade them believe, not takes each πιστεύετε as imperative: he only in God but also in Himself."

⁷ ἰσηγορήσειεν
⁸ λόγους
⁹ θεοποιῖας
² θεοποιῶν

AG. NEST. blamed, and will know where you were, as it is written ²,
going astray from the doctrines of the truth.

S. Matt. viii. 3. „ But yea (saith he) he hath said to the leper, *I will, be*

S. Luke viii. 54. „ *thou cleansed*, and to the ruler of the synagogue's daughter,

S. Mark iv. 39. „ *Maid, arise*, and to the sea, *Peace, be still*, and herein was

³ συνήγορος „ he a co-partner³, for he uttered the Divine words whereby
it was possible to achieve all things easily. „ Two then are
they that command, and let us grant that the words on all

S. John viii. 40. matters belong to both. When then it says, *Why seek ye*

to kill me, a man which have told you the truth, whose words

(tell me) do you say that these be? or dost thou allot those

to the Word, these to a man born of a woman as other

than He? Where then wilt thou put the most holy Paul

1 Cor. viii. 6. who says clearly, *But to us One God the Father out of Whom*

all things and we unto Him, and One Lord Jesus Christ

through Whom all things and we through Him. But he,

over and over saying, „ One Son and not one and other,

„ nor yet Christ and a second christ, „ contends against

his own words, and to two persons and distinct hypostases

⁴ τῶν θεηγόρων allots the expressions of the Divines ⁴ and His own.

Yet not regardless of his own notions, he puts forth again,

„ I ¹ venerate him as image of Almighty Godhead; for He

Phil. ii. 9—11. „ *highly exalted Him and gave Him a Name which is above*

„ *every name, that at the name of Jesus Christ every knee*

„ *should bow, of heavenly and earthly and beneath the earth*

„ *and every tongue should confess Lord Jesus Christ.* „

§ 11 And who again will be conceived of as he whom (as he

supposes) he confesses he venerates and pretends to honour

with likeness to God, save surely him whom he but now

mentioned to us, calling him an advocate or co-worker⁵ of

the Divine sway? whom he foolishly said ought to be co-wor-

shipped with the Godhead, as son other and severally than

⁵ συνήγορον ἢ τοι
συνεργόν

² γνώση τοῦ ἡσθα, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον. This is cited as though from the Bible, but I do not know to what the allusion is.

³ These words are also a portion of serm. 2 (see p. 65 Baluz.). The closing words, and that every tongue should confess Lord Jesus Christ, are there

omitted but seem to have formed part of the sermon, since S. Cyril a little below says that Nestorius for some reason or other had omitted to add, *to the glory of God the Father*. We do not know where Nestorius used the words cited a little before, *But yea He said to the leper, I will, &c.*

the Word of God : he says that he has also been exalted by BOOK II. 11. God the Father, that he moreover received *the Name which is above every name*, that to him *should both every knee bow, of heavenly and earthly and neath the earth and every tongue confess Lord Jesus Christ.*

If therefore the Father hath placed Him, being God by Nature, on high even before the here-mentioned exaltation : on investigating the mode of the intervening abasement, we shall find some wise Economy^s in regard to which dishonoured meanwhile, He had become again in the exaltation wherein He ever was, exaltation essentially inexistent and verily Proper to Him. If this be not so (as he deems and says) but He made some other than the Word of God, the man connected with Him, an object of worship by heaven and earth and those lower yet :—He hath engodded a man like us : no longer will He meetly blame us as though we desired to engod him that is not God, whereas one must fasten on God the Father Himself the charge of the transgression hereto pertaining. He that is studious for learning sees therefore in what direction his words burst forth⁶, and the inventions of his untempered mis-⁶ διεκπαί-
ουσιν
⁷καταίρου-
σιν,
put to port
counsel at what a word they terminate⁷. For we say that the Son being by Nature God, *i.e.*, the Word out of God the Father, descended unto voluntary emptying, ascended again with the flesh too unto the God-befitting Dignity of His inherent Excellence : for He is worshipped with flesh too, as being an object of worship even before it, for He was even yet by Nature God, both before the emptying and when He is said to endure the emptiness, made as we. But this man disdaining so august and spotless doctrines connecteth a man with God by mere outward accident⁸, and is not⁸ σχέσιν
ashamed to co-worship him as in equality of dignity and as one with another, and maintains (he says) that he received as somewhat unwonted and strange and as a matter of favour that to him *every knee should bow*, and besides that

^s *i.e.* ministration or ordering of God for the benefit of us His household, just as His most marvellous gift to us, the Incarnation, is called ἡ μετὰ σαρκὸς οἰκονομία, the Economy or ministration with flesh.

AG. NEST. *every tongue should confess Lord Jesus Christ.* And shouldst thou say^t that he was made God by Nature, he hath blasphemed openly, saying that the Nature of the Godhead is generate; and if not by Nature but he receive the dignity of gift and from outside and by mere title⁹, how is he not openly saying that we worship him who is not by Nature God? And together with us (it is like) the gravity¹ of the spirits above too is in error. And the Father Himself is the beginning and plea to us of these things. How then will He yet find fault with them who have chosen to worship the creature rather than Himself? and why does He indict and punish those that have erred, if the error have been by the will of Himself, in exhibiting to us as an object of worship him who is not by Nature God?

But since citing here this word, I mean the one before us, that to Him *shall bow every knee and every tongue shall confess Lord Jesus Christ*, he (I know not how minded) pretermitted what remains and was of necessity added in order by the blessed Paul, come let us adding it say this, for *every tongue confesses Lord Jesus Christ to the glory of God the Father.* Hence if He be not by Nature God, but he says that on account of accidental² connection, I mean with the Word out of God, he is worshipped both by ourselves and by the holy angels:—some mode of honour³ has been invented by the Father, so that the creature should be engodded along with Himself, and to no purpose has He displeasure against any for having done this: and if this thing were to His honour, how should He not deem worthy of recompense, praise and glory them who have chosen to do this?

But haply they will say this, How is it any honour to the Father that *every knee should bow* to Emmanuel?

Because the Word being by Nature God and out of Him, that is, out of His Essence, has been made flesh, and is worshipped (as I said) as One and Alone and Truly Son with His proper Flesh. And the Father is glorified as God,

^t φηs. The Roman editors conjectured φησιν, *he says*, to avoid the sudden change of person.

having Very Son Him who was begotten from forth His BOOK ii. 12.
 Essence, whom made flesh also He hath given for us, in
 order that He having suffered in the flesh might save all
 under Heaven, that *every one who believeth on Him should* S. John
iii. 16.
not perish but have everlasting life, that every one that seeth Ib. xiv. 9.
 Him might see the Father. Now that this too is to us
 verily a life-giving thing, the Son Himself hath shewn :
 for He said, *This is Life Eternal that they might know Thee* Ib. xvii. 3.
the Only Very God and Jesus Christ whom Thou sentest.

And this and none other is the way to the right and
 most unerring line of thought, but he utterly confounding
 every thing says,

„Because of the wearer I reverence the worn, because
 „of the hidden I worship him that is seen^v.,

View again (I pray) how he every where shuns the union § 12
 and fears the truth and refuses the rightness of the Di-
 vine doctrines. Not other than the worn was He who
 weareth, but rather the same conceived of in concurrence⁴ ἐν συνό
δῳ
 of Godhead and manhood, and One and Alone in truth
 Son of God the Father. Worship therefore the Word out
 of God as One with His own Flesh. For tell me, if I do
 not seem to thee to think aright, thrusting aside as feeble
 thy slow speech⁵ herein. For suppose one should choose⁵ ἰσχυρο-
μυθίαν, cf.
supra § 4,
p. 55
 to say of any man such as we are or of any one of the kings
 of the earth, Because of the king's soul I reverence his
 body, because of the hidden I worship him that is seen,
 would not one straightway chide him and say, O sir what
 are you doing? one man surely is the Ruler, even though
 he be evidently compounded of two, soul I mean and body.
 Why then are you idly blabbing⁶ to us, speaking of a wearer βρατταρί-
ς
 and a worn, a hidden and an apparent, and confessing that
 you co-worship as one with another and dishonouring the

^v These words are extant in Nestorius' first sermon p. 55 Baluz, but some phrases are repeated in serm. 2 p. 65 just following S. Cyril's last citation. The words, *Because of the wearer I reverence the worn*, are not in this part of the second sermon, yet are quoted (pp.

114, 115) in a long piece extracted (all but these words) from serm. 2, and again in page 207 in an extract from the 16th quire in which this sermon was. The words here cited are likewise cited by S. Cyril in his Great Letter to Nestorius. Three Epistles, p. 64.

AG. NEST. mode of union, whereas the God-inspired Scripture reveals to us One Christ and Lord, the Word out of God the Father with His own Body? Knowest thou not that He healed in Jerusalem the blind from his birth, afterward finding him in the temple, He engrafted into him a firm and stablished faith in Himself? for He came to him and asked, *Dost THOU believe on the Son of God?* and when to this he cried out, *Who is He, Lord, that I might believe on Him?* He again said, *Thou hast both seen Him and it is He that talketh with thee*^x. Thou seest how He hath shewn him not the wearer, not the hidden within, but rather Himself as One with the flesh? And verily the wise John says, *That Which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we viewed and our hands handled, of the Word of Life.* Albeit the Godhead is impalpable, yet the Word has been made palpable through His own flesh; invisible by Nature, He was yet manifest through the Body; but THOU again completely severest and dealest subtilly with the truth, parting the natures, uniting (as you say) the worship. But if you part the natures, along with them will diverge the natural properties too of either, the count of their difference will speed apart: hence two are they confessedly.

But tell me who ask, what is it that severs the natures one from another and what will be the mode of their difference. You will (I suppose) surely answer that one thing by nature is man or the manhood, another God or the Godhead: and the one exalted incomparably above the other, and it as much inferior as is man less than God. How then (tell me) dost thou deem right to honour with one worship things of so unlike nature and parted, as regards their mode of being, by incomparable differences? For would you, if you put about a horse a man's glory, be doing anything praiseworthy? would you not rather be insulting the superior, dragging down the better nature into dishonour?

^x S. Cyril loves to quote this loyal adoration of our Master on the part of the born-blind and our Master's acceptance of it; see it mentioned again below Schol. § 36 and de recta fide to the Emperor Theodosius, 31 a.

S. John
ix. 35.

Ib. 36.

Ib. 37.

1 S. John
i. 1.

see above
p. 41

But he has invented something clever in his defence, for BOOK II. 13. he subjoins :

„Not^y by itself God is that which was formed in the
 „womb, not by itself God that which was formed forth of
 „the Spirit, not by itself God that which was buried in the
 „tomb ; for so should we have been man-worshippers and
 „very worshippers of the dead. But since God is in that
 „which is assumed, from that which assumeth is the as-
 „sumed co-named God, as connected with the assumer.,

Lo again is he who every where telleth us of connection, § 13
 and feareth the charge of man-worship, caught in the act
 of being a man-worshipper, and is holden in the meshes of
 his own mis-counsel and is detected falling into a repro-
 bate mind. , For (says he) that which is born from the
 ,womb is not by itself God. , How I marvel at thy shrewd-
 ness and thy so subtle mind : for who ever is there who
 hath dared to say this ? or who that knows not that *that* S. John
which is born of the flesh is flesh ? yet was it the own flesh iii. 6.
 of the Word and He is conceived of as one with it, just as
 we said but now that the soul of man too is one with his
 own body. If therefore one should choose say of us too,
 The body by itself is not man, would not such an one rea-
 sonably be called superfluous in his words and a random
 talker ? for none will deny that the body by itself is not
 man, but it will be rather called the body of a man : nathe-
 less one will not severing them asunder and putting soul
 and body apart say that the body is co-named ⁷ with the 7 συγχρη-
 soul in order to signify a single man, for such a speech ματιεί
 would not have been made orderly but would rather be
 replete with unlearning ; but on bringing both together by
 physical union ² unto the condition of one man, he will

^y This belongs to serm. 2. and follows the last quotation, a few words only intervening. A few words are also quoted in the Great Letter to Nest. see note v.

^z See this expression *physical union* or *unity of Nature* of the Union of the Nature of God and the Nature of man in Christ in S. Cyril's third chapter. S. Cyril says in his Explanation of his third chapter that he used *physical* in

the sense of *true*. The word *physical* or *natural*, perplexed Andrew of Samosata, who in his objection to that chapter supposes *natural* to have been used in contrast with *supernatural*.

Theodoret, in his objection, replies that even man himself, though really one, is allowed to be spoken of as two-fold. S. Cyril does not object to this : he speaks in regard to our Lord, of di-

AG. NEST. then style him a man, and will not^a in this way seem to ἀσύφηλον say what is paltry and uncomely. One must therefore if one would be in all wise and sensible say, A body which is from forth a woman, and confess that conjoined by personal union to the Word, it has rendered the Same, God and Man, One Christ and Son and Lord. But now pretermittting this, falling quite away from the straight road he thinks^b the perverted way, and proclaims unto us two gods: one, as if by Nature and in truth, the Word forth of God the Father, and other than He, him who is co-named with Him. For just as no one of us would be said to live (for example) with himself alone, but rather he would live with another, and if any one were to say that any of the kings of the earth co-reigned with himself, such an one would reasonably incur ridicule, and would be blabbing⁸, putting and saying what belonged to one only, as though [he were speaking] of two: just so is it exceeding lack of understanding to suppose that *to be co-named* can have place in respect of one only. For they will surely be two; and the one is God by Nature, the other having (it seems) the mere being co-named [as something] from without and accruing to him, is exhibited to us as a new god. Does therefore He That is by Nature and truly God of all lie in saying to us, *If thou wilt hearken unto Me, there shall be no new⁹ god be in thee, neither shalt thou worship an alien god?* Then how have we worshipped Christ and how to Him shall every

⁸ βαττα-
ριεῖ

Ps. lxxxix.
8, 9.
⁹ πρόσφα-
τος

viding the Natures in one's conception of them. "Hence in regard of thought and of only seeing with the eyes of the soul how the Only-Begotten became man, we say that the natures united are two, but that the Word of God Incarnate and made man, is One Christ and Son and Lord." Ep. 1 to Successus, p. 137 e. Again, "But they [i. e. they who thought one ought to speak of two natures as actually existent] did not know that things which are severed otherwise than in mere conception of them, these will full surely part off one from the other wholly and separately into diverse-ness. Take for example a man: we conceive of two natures in him, one, of the soul, the other, of the body. But severing them in mere idea, and in subtil conception or fantasy of the mind, admitting

the difference, we do not put the natures apart nor give them their force through-out by severing, but we conceive of One; so that the two are no longer two, but through both is One living creature made up. Hence though one speak of the nature of manhood and Godhead in Emmanuel, yet has the manhood become the Word's own, and He is conceived of as One Son with it." Ep. 2, to Successus, p. 145 b c.

^a I have translated καὶ κἀν as if it were καὶ οὐκ ἄν, following the conjecture of the Roman editors.

^b something seems to have dropped out here. The Roman Editors conjectured ἔταρ hastens along for οἶταρ thinks: "he hastens along the perverted way, falling from the straight path."

knee bow? how dost thou confess that thou veneratest¹ Him? albeit thou fearest (as thou saidst) to be called a man-worshipper. BOOK II. 13.

But he has as he thinks some clever answer to this, „he „is co-named god as connected with the assumer:„ how was he assumed (tell) or what the mode of the connection? If therefore by true union, I mean of Person, cease dividing what has been united; for seasonably (I deem) by us too shall be said to thee who art severing the inseverable, *What therefore God joined together let not man put asunder.* But if thou say that the assumption or the connection is extraneous and of accident², how knowest thou not that in us too is God and we are connected to Him^c relatively³ and have been made *partakers of His Divine Nature?* yea the Divine-uttering David singeth, *My soul is fast joined^d after Thee.* Shall we too therefore be co-named with God by Nature gods according to him, to us too shall every knee bow? What God the Father hath enjoined to the spirits above let the Divine-uttering Paul come forward and teach; *For when* (saith he) *He bringeth the First-begotten into the world He saith, And let all the Angels of God worship Him.* Since therefore herein thy wise word has not been added, but He has enjoined rather that He should be worshipped as of a surety One and not one along with another: who is He who is worshipped by the Angels, albeit the Divine Scripture calls Him First-born? We say that the Word out of God the Father has been called First-born albeit He is God by Nature and Only-Begotten Son and not reckoned with the creature, as far as regards Godhead, because He was made Man and *First-born among many brethren^e.* S. Matt. xix. 6.
2 σχετικῶς, i. e., non-essential
3 σχετικῶς
2 S. Pet. i. 4.
Ps. lxxiii.
Heb. i. 6.
Rom. viii. 29.

One therefore is He Who is worshipped by the spirits above, the Word forth of God the Father with His own flesh: for then did He bear Him⁴ and, as having *the preeminence in all things*, is He conceived of as First-born. And Col. i. 18.
4 τέτοκε

^c See above p. 19 note k.

^d ἐκολλήθη (from κόλλα, glue) but used of the welding of metals, the fast-cleaving of the cupping-glass to the body.

See this same text cited in the Quod Unus Christus, at the end of this volume.

^e See above p. 57 note y.

AG. NEST. the God-inspired Scriptures wholly proclaim One Christ
 ὁ περιττός and Son and Lord: but this too-curious⁵ man says Two
 and he is not ashamed to add a worshipped man to the
 Holy and Consubstantial Trinity: for he says again,

„But this kinsman after the flesh of Israel, man accord-
 „ing to what is manifest, begotten according to Paul's
 „voice of the seed of David, is by connection Almighty
 „God „ and then adds, „^f Hear Paul proclaiming both, he
 „confesses the man first and then deifies what is manifest
 „by connection with God, that none may suspect the
 „Christian of being a man-worshipper. Keep we^f there-
 „fore unconfused the connection of the natures, confess
 „we One^g God, reverence we the man who is co-worshipped
 „by a Divine connection along with the Almighty God.,

§ 14 If therefore on naming Man thou knowest that He is
 with this God by Nature, it is well and I will stop: but if
 severing the natures, not merely in respect of knowing
 which is the human, which again the Divine, but rather
 parting them from their concurrence unto unity, confes-
 sedly thou art a man-worshipper, and it shall be said to
 thee by us, *Thou shalt eat the fruit of thy labours*^h: and
 being hard and spurning admonition⁵, go alone on the
 perverted way. But we, tracking the pious and blameless
 path of the holy fathers, instructed full well in the writings
 of the Apostles and Evangelists, will honour together with
 God the Father and the Holy Ghost, with one worship, the
 One Lord Jesus Christ, through Whom and with Whom
 to God the Father be glory with the Holy Ghost unto ages
 of ages.

see above
 p. 78 note
 z.

Ps.
 cxxviii. 2.
 ὁ ἀνουθέ-
 τητος

^f These two pieces are both quoted before the Council of Ephesus, see pp. 204, 206 Bal. where they are called *from the fifteenth quire*; the Greek editions add *on dogma*. S. Cyril cites also the last portion in his letter to Acacius of Melitene Epp. p. 115 a, see above p. 49 note n.

^g „One., For this word ἕνα, S. Cyril

in his letter to Acacius Mel. and the Council of Ephesus in their extract have ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ, „confess we God in man., Mercator too translates *in hominem*, p. 206 Bal.

^h τοὺς καρποὺς τῶν πόνων σου. So reads S. Cyril every where with the Alexandrine for τοὺς πόρους τῶν καρπῶν σου.

TOME III.

Ps. xviii. 11 hints at the depth of Christ's mystery. Gifts through Incarnation. Is. xlv. 14, 15 the Incarnate SON. S. John i. 14, 2 Sam. vii. 12—14 explained by S. Paul. 1 Sam. ii. 35. The WORD Incarnate worshipped by Angels worships with us and is our High Priest. GOD the WORD sent and how: so our High Priest. Sent and High Priest when Incarnate. , Possessor of Godhead, a misnomer. Heb. v. 1. He makes us His brothers. 'Yesterday to-day and for ever.' S. John i. 30; iii. 13: Micah v. 2, Is. liii. 8. Gen. xxxii. 24 sqq. High Priesthood belongs to Incarnation. 'Sent' of God is a human word and to be understood worthily of God. The SON Incarnate gives the Holy Ghost as God, receives as man. High priesthood. Growth "in wisdom and stature and favour." Union alone permits to attribute to One the properties of either manhood or Godhead. The Paschal Lamb and the sacrifice for sin of a young bullock types of the sinlessness of our Sacrifice.

GREAT confessedly *is the mystery of godliness*, and marvelled at by the holy Angels themselves also, and hereto the most wise Paul confirms us saying, *To the intent that now unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places might be known through the Church the manifold wisdom of God according to the eternal purpose which He purposed in our Lord Jesus Christ, in Whom we have boldness and access with confidence through faith.* For wisdom verily, and that not human (how could it?) but Divine rather and deposited in certain ineffable depths and incomprehensibilities, is the Mystery of Christ. And the blessed David singeth, *And He made darkness His secret place, around Him His pavilion dark water in clouds of the skies,* calling darkness (I suppose) nought else save altogether the dim¹ conception of ideas, falling like mist upon the eyes of the understanding.

¹ Tim. iii. 16.

Eph. iii. 10—12.

Ps. xviii. 11.

¹ δυσκλ-
τοπτον

We say therefore that the mystery of Christ hath by no means needed subtil investigations and search beyond the reach of mind, but faith rather that holds the tradition² simple and guileless. Thus we ourselves also have

² παρά-
δοσιν,
what has
been
commit-
ted, the
trust.

- AG. NEST. been taught and believed that God the Father sent His own Son who is by Nature God, made Man and born of a woman after the flesh, that He might justify them that believe on Him and having freed from stumblings through
- ³ νεύμασι³ ignorance, by His Good and most gentle authority³, might present them clean and undefiled through Him to God the
- 2 S. Pet. i. 4. Father, and might make *partakers of His own Divine Nature* them who are under death and decay, yea and might
- S. Luke iv. 18. preach recovery of sight to the blind, and might bring over the flocks which had strayed into the light of the true knowledge of God, and might teach at length who it is Who is by Nature and truly God and the Creator of all.
- 2 Cor. ii. 14. For He became *the savour of the knowledge of God the Father*, and in Him we have beheld Him out of Whom He was begotten by Nature and know clearly the way that leadeth us unto everlasting life. That thus the Son should beam upon the crowd of the Gentiles too, hath the blessed
- Isa. xlv. 15, 14. LXX. Prophet Isaiah cried beforehand saying, *Thus saith the Lord, Egypt toiled and the merchandise of the Ethiopians, and the Sabeans, men of stature, shall pass over unto Thee and they shall be Thy servants, and they shall come after Thee bound in fetters: and they shall worship Thee, and in Thee shall they pray; for in Thee is God, and there is no God save Thee, for THOU art God and we knew it not, the God of Israel the Saviour.* And it is said somewhere to the Son, as from
- Ib. xlix. 6. LXX. the Person again of God the Father, *Lo, I have set Thee for a covenant of the race⁴, for a light of the nations, that Thou mayest be for salvation unto the end of the earth.* For
- ⁴ γένους, below p. 105. He hath instituted⁵ to them^a of the blood and race of
- ⁵ γεννομο-θέτηκε⁵ Israel, the new covenant, *the first having waven old*, and He beamed as far as the boundaries of that beneath the sky also, to the nations and people in every place and city. For they have worshipped Him yea and they follow Him spiritually, holden by the indissoluble chains of love, as in *fetters* and well-nigh say what is in the Prophet Jeremiah,
- Jer. iii. 22. LXX. *Behold WE will be Thine for THOU art the Lord our God.*
- See (I pray) the vigilance of the Prophet's thoughts,

^a I have translated correcting τοῖς for τὸν.

They shall worship Thee (he says) *and in Thee shall they* Book iii.
pray, for in Thee is God, and there is no God beside Thee.
 He knew then confessedly as being Spirit-clad the Word
 out of God the Father, Who should *tabernacle in us*, as S. John i.
saith the blessed Evangelist John : therefore he saith that 14.
God is in Thee ; yet hath he not suffered Emmanuel to be
 severed into two gods, but even though the Only-Begotten
 was made man, he acknowledged Him even so as One
 and straightway added, *There is no God save Thee*. For
 consider accurately the Prophet's utterance. For having
 first declared ^b (as I said) that *God is in Thee*, he hath not
 added, And there is no God save He that is in Thee, but
 gathering it into the Unity of the Economy ^c, says *There*
is no God beside Thee.

But that the Only-Begotten Word of God made man, is
 declared to us by the (so to speak) whole God-inspired
 Scripture, is easy to shew without toil by very many
 proofs : but I think it is enough for the present to say this.
 God said somewhere to blessed David, *And I will set up out* 2 Sam.
of thy seed after thee Him who shall proceed out of thy bowels vii. 12—
and I will prepare His Kingdom : He shall build an house 14.
for My Name and I will stablish His Throne for ever, and I
will be to Him a Father and He shall be to Me a Son. But
 some one (I suppose) will say that these things were said not
 of Emmanuel, but of Solomon rather : yet the most wise
 Paul will strenuously oppose those who would thus under-
 stand it, for he takes the words of Christ and says that it is
 He to Whom it has been said by God the Father, *I will be* Heb. i. 5,
to Him a Father and He shall be to Me a Son. But that from
 when made like unto us, i. e., Man, He should offer to God 2 Sam.
 the Father, all beneath the sky saved through faith in Him, vii. 14.
 He made known saying elsewhere, *And I will raise Me up* 1 Sam. ii.
a faithful Priest who shall do all which is in Mine heart 35.
and in My soul, and I will build Him a sure house and He

^b προσηγορευκώς. I have corrected προηγορευκώς.

^c εἰς ἐνότητα . . . οἰκονομικὴν, the Oneness of God the SON Incarnate, Man.

which belonged to our Lord's earthly Economy or that plan of His, by which He digned to save us by becoming

- AG. NEST. shall walk before Me^d for ever. Observe (I pray) that having elsewhere said, *He shall build an house for My Name*, the Father here promises to rear the house for the Son. And the Divine Paul understanding this, said that Moses
- Num. xii. was faithful in all My house having the measure pertaining to a servant, but Christ as a Son over His own house,
7. Heb. iii. Whose house are we; and the mode of the ministry, things
6. pertaining to us⁶, not the blood of bulls and of calves, but the confession of the faith of us all. And blessed Paul
- ⁶ τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς
- Ib. 1, 2. will again certify it, writing thus, *Wherefore holy brethren partakers of the heavenly calling, consider the Apostle and High Priest of our confession, Jesus, who was faithful to Him That appointed Him*. We say therefore that the Word out of God the Father, when receiving servant's form He is said to have been emptied for our sake, then too did abase Himself in the measure of the human nature, whereto will pertain (and very reasonably) both the seeming to be sent
- ⁷ πρόξενον and the accounting the ministry the token⁷ of the very highest honour. For if when He became as we, He have worshipped with us as Man, albeit the Host above and the holy spirits worship Him, and Moses says of Him, *Rejoice O ye heavens with Him and let all the sons of God worship Him*; what is there strange or what inconvenient to the nature of the Economy if He have been called *High Priest* as offering for us for an odour of a sweet smell Himself and us through Himself and in Himself to God the
- Dent. xxxii. 43. LXX
- 2 Cor. ii. Father? for *we are a sweet savour of Christ*, as it is written.
- 15.
- But this noble person again affirms that these things have been wrought in no fit order, and all but smiles at those who conceive that these things were so, and impiously finding fault with the Divine purposes, says thus:

„For they hearing the name of *Apostle*, deem that God „the Word was *Apostle*; reading the name *High Priest*, they „fancy that the Godhead^e was *High Priest*, by a species „of paradoxical craziness: for who learning of the ministry

^d The LXX read with the Hebrew, *before Mine Anointed for ever*; there is one MS. belonging to the Vatican, and attributed to the ninth century (cod. Vat. 334, quoted by Holmes and Par-

sons in their edition of the LXX) which reads as S. Cyril does here.

^e Mercator p. 111 Bal. reads 'God,' not "Godhead," here and a little below.

„ of an Apostle, would not forthwith know that a man is Bookiii.1.
 „ indicated? who on hearing the appellation of High Priest,
 „ would suppose that the Essence of Godhead were High
 „ Priest? for if the Godhead^f be High Priest, who is he
 „ who is served by the ministry of the High Priesthood?
 „ if God be the Offerer, there is none to whom offering is
 „ made: for what is there worthy of Godhead that as less
 „ It should offer to the greater?,, And hereto he adds,
 „ Whence then is God supposed by them to have been
 „ now called High Priest Who needeth not sacrifices for
 „ His own advancement like the high priests? Is the pos-
 „ sessor of Godhead, taken from among men, ordained for cf. Heb.
v. 1.
 „ men in things God-ward?,,

Therefore dost thou say that the Word of God has not § 1
 been even sent into the world? The most wise Paul hath
 cozened⁸ (it appears) those who were called through him,
 for he said, *God sent forth His Son made of a woman, made* ⁸ πεφενά-
κικεν
Gal. iv.
4.
under the law: the blessed David too will be found ac- ⁹ ἐβράψφ-
δηκώς as
p. 8.
 cording to thee idly romancing⁹ and seeking impossible Ps. xliii.
3.
 things, for he said somewhere to God the Father in Hea-
 ven, *O send out Thy Light and Thy Truth*. And what (tell
 me) will not the Son Himself too speak falsely in saying,
For God sent not His Son into the world to judge the world, S. John
iii. 17.
but that the world through Him might be saved, and again,
I came forth from the Father and am come. The wise John Ib. xvi.
28, cf.
viii. 42.
 too writes somewhere of Him, *He that receiveth His testi-*
mony set to his seal that God is true, for He Whom God sent Ib. iii.
33, 34.
speaketh God's words. But we say that the Word of God
 hath been sent, having with the measures of the emptying
 the name and fact of being sent¹: but you why do you un- ¹ ἀποστο-
λῆς, apos-
tolate
 learnedly fear and blush to allot to Him the name and fact
 both of the apostolate and the High-priesthood? would it
 befit (do you suppose) as other than He, the man born of
 a woman having (according to you) a mere connection^g

^f See last note.

^g συνάφειαν, connection of two things that remain distinct, opposed to ἐνωσις, union. S. Cyril, in all his writing on the mode of the Incarnation, uses ἐνωσις to express the Catholic faith in the entire and absolute union of the Man-

hood and Godhead, that manhood which God the Son made His own and united to Himself, while συνάφεια expresses what is His Union with us when He deigns by His SPIRIT to indwell in us who yet retain our own distinct personality; see above p. 19, note k.

AG. NEST. and that in equality of dignity only? how then is the
 τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς Word being God seen to profit any longer our condition²,
 Eph. ii. 18. if we have been even presented to God the Father through
 another? for no longer *have we had the access through Him*,
 but a man like us has become our mediator having the name
 of Godhead put on.

³ τὸ ἐκ-
 ρουργεῖν Yea (says he) the priest's office³ is petty to the Word
 begotten out of God the Father. Petty confessedly, I
⁴ γυνυῖν agree^h with you enunciating the truth, but not in bare⁴
 Godhead did He dawn on those upon the earth, but rather
 made man as we, to whom the priesthood is some great
 and choice thing. But if He refused the priest's office
 as belonging to man, or indeed ought that appertains to
 the measure of bond-service, how were it not better far,
 before this to refuse too the Incarnation?

Yet He rejected not for our sakes the Birth. But this
 man (as I said) is ashamed of the truth, shewing himself
 Rom. i. 16. unwise and unskilled, albeit the blessed Paul saith, *For I
 am not ashamed of the Gospel, for it is the power of God
 unto salvation to every one that believeth.* And one may
 well marvel that the Word of God for the salvation and
 life of all endured to suffer so great abasement, which
 the inventor for us of idle teachings is (I know not how)
 ashamed merely to acknowledge, albeit he ought to wonder
 Hab. iii. 2. LXX hereat and to cry with the blessed Prophet, *O Lord, I have
 heard Thy report and was afraid, I considered Thy works
 and was amazed.* But since the whole God-inspired Scrip-
 ture in a manner rises up against him, and arrays against
 him the truth, shewing that his discourse in favour of his
⁵ ἔυλον own inventions, cold and without any real being⁵ and des-
 titute of support from any quarter, lacks in no small de-
 gree the conceptions and ideas that tend unto rightness
 and truth; hence what no one of those well reported of
 for rightness of doctrine, ever either thought or said, this
 he makes the occasion of his discourse, and fights with
⁶ διατείν-
 εται shadows and strains himself⁶ to no purpose, no one op-

^h I have translated συνεργῶ as if it were συνερῶ following the emendation of the Roman Editors.

posing him or wishing to contend about these matters. *Book* iii. 1. And this (I deem) is to *beat the air*. For he said „Who ^{1 Cor. ix. 26.} „on learning of the ministry of an apostle would not „forthwith know that a man is indicated? who on hearing „the appellation of High Priest would suppose that the „Essence of Godhead were High-Priest? „ Since therefore there is no one who says this, with whom (tell me) are you striving, and as though yourself alone were overthrowing what is condemned by the voice of all, are haply thinking that your opposition is worthy even of honours? albeit how is it not true that since no one saith this, it is you who are bringing forward what it were better to be silent on and not to instil into the souls of the more simple? For who is so crazed as to , suppose that the Essence , of Godhead were High Priest?, Aaron was a man, albeit he obtained preeminence of the rest in Divine Priesthood. How then will any one suppose that the Essence of Godhead is High Priest, or how will he not wholly and surely confess that mention is made of a man when the brother of Moses is named to us as High Priest? Yet he putting forth some language that commonly belongs to and befits every High Priest of those among us, essays to undo the marvel of the Economy understood in Christ, and dares to shake from the very foundations our Divine Mystery, not considering that Christ hath founded the *Church upon a* ^{S. Matt. xvi. 18.} *rock, and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against her.* For he no wise condescends ⁷ to follow the common doctrine and that of all who are wont to think aright, but he alone innovates ⁸ without examination what he pleases. ⁸ *καίνοτο- μεί* For we (as I said before) say that the Word out of God the Father, made Man, offered to Himself and to the Father ^{chapter 10} the confession of our faith and wrought an Economy befitting and by no means out of harmony with the measures of the emptying ⁱ. But not so does it seem to him, but he

ⁱ S. Cyril in his Thesaurus, written chiefly against the error of those who tried to make it seem that the SON was less than the FATHER, had said (cap. 21. pp. 213 d e 214 a b), “Not setting forth the Nature of the Word, but the Eco-

nomy with flesh, does the Apostle say this. For when has He been made the *High Priest of our confession?* when *Apostle?* when *faithful to Him who made Him?* was it not when for our sakes and in our behalf He was made man and, as

AG. NEST. taking separately and apart him that is from forth the holy
 chapter 10. Virgin as though another Christ than the Word That is out
 of God the Father, says that he became *the Apostle and high
 priest of our confession* and supposes that he is thinking
 what conduce unto piety when he says, „If God be the
 „offerer, there is none to whom offering is made, for what
 „is there worthy of Godhead that as though less It should
 „make offering to the greater? „ Now if there were any
 who were contending and saying that He That is truly
 Word out of God the Father had been appointed to office
 of priesthood even before the Incarnation and were in the
 measure of ministry and were for this reason to be called
 High Priest and Apostle, he would have given a wise re-
 buke¹, and one would say that his argument hereon had
 been made in season. For not in lack of priests is the
 Nature That rules all, that Himself should minister therein.
 But since the Only-Begotten, being God by Nature and
 receiving from the hands of those who execute the Priest's
 office their ministrations, hath descended unto the measure
 of those appointed unto the priesthood, having become
 Man (as I said), nought strange will it be if He be called by
 us High Priest too. Hath He not come down in servant's
 form, having taken that is the form of a servant, albeit Im-
 press and Brightness of the Father's Glory? None will doubt
 it. When therefore He Who is in His own Nature Free

John says, *the Word was made flesh?* then became He faithful to *Him who made Him*, as man fulfilling His work, as Himself said: then was He made *Apostle*, sent in our behalf and for our sakes: then was He made *High Priest of our confession*, offering the Confession of our faith to the Father and presenting His own Body as a spotless sacrifice in order that He might cleanse all us through Him. If therefore it be said of the Son that He hath been made *faithful*, hath been made an *Apostle*, hath been made an *High Priest*, let not the expression be referred to His Being but to the quality of affairs. For Paul too being a man and existing already has been made an *Apostle* (not then beginning to be when he was called to the apostolate for existing previously, he was made an Apostle [these few words are supplied from the Munich MS. cited above p. 57

note y]): and Moses likewise has been made *faithful in all his house*, Aaron too has been made *High Priest*, outlining in himself too the Saviour. For as Aaron was not born High Priest but became so many years after, when he put on the long garment and the ephod and the rest of the priestly raiment, which was women's work: just so as to Christ also. For He was *the Word in the beginning*, but long time after He became High Priest for us, taking on Him as some long robe the man out of woman, or the Temple, in order that by His own Blood He might cleanse the people, offering Himself to God as a spotless Lamb: for *He did not sin nor was guile found in His mouth.*"

¹ I have translated as if it were ἐπι-
 πλῆξιν instead of ἀπὸ πλῆξιν following
 the conjecture of the Roman Editors.

as God, He Who is in the Form and Equality of the Father, Bookiii.1. has been called bond, economically not thrusting from Him the measure of those who are under the yoke of bondage, why dost thou fear to call Him High Priest too by reason of the Manhood? for He dedicates⁹ us for an odour of a⁹ καθιεροῖ sweet smell through faith, and Himself hath He offered for us as a most sweet-smelling offering to the Father.

But he (saying I know not what) straightway subjoins to these things, „Whence then were God supposed by „them to have been now called High Priest Who need- „eth not sacrifices for His own advancement? is the pos- „sessor of Godhead taken from among men appointed cf. Heb. v. 1. „for men in things God-ward? „ Whence then Christ, i. e., the Word out of God made man, was, or why He was called, Apostle and High Priest, our discourse has already clearly shewn, but I think it right not to leave unexamined his unwonted and strange utterance. For doth he say that the Word out of God is Possessor of Godhead, even though any should wish to conceive of Him apart¹ and without¹ ἂνὰ μέ- ρος flesh? doth he define His Godhead as other than He? whereof I don't know how (as he saith) He hath become possessor, as though it accrued to Him and came to Him from without, although once not God by Nature, like what was said by that ancient woman, I mean Eve, when she bare Seth, *I gat^k a man through God.* But this I deem is wholly to be spurned by him and by all. Why then doth Cain, Gen. iv. 1. he speak with inexactness, and fling about words without understanding, in matters so cogent? would not one earn laughter and accusal of insanity, if one chose to say that any among us were the possessor of human nature, or a horse of horse-nature²? who then is the possessor of God- head, who *taken from men is ordained in things to God-* ἑκ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος Heb. v. 1. ward? Haply he will say severing into two the One Christ, Him that is forth of the Holy Virgin: for to this I suppose now too is his aim directed¹.

^k ἐκτησάμην, acquired, became possessor of.

¹ γέγραπται. I have translated as if it

were τέτραπται, following the emendation of the Roman Editors.

AG. NEST. Hath the Godhead then (tell me) become the acquisition³ of a man, and hath it befallen any one of us, to become God by Nature and in truth and to be rich in the excellence of the Essence that is above all and Supreme? Away with the ill-counsel, o man, for none of those accounted among things generate may acquire and have as his own the Nature of Godhead: His own was the Body of the Word and as one therewith God and Christ and Son and Lord hath the creation worshipped, and the Heavens do praise and we with them. For as the Prophet saith, *His Goodness*⁴ covered the *Heavens* and of His Praise was the earth full, not as though a man gat Godhead (for how or whence could he?) but that the Word out of God the Father had come into possession⁵ of flesh of man. But be it that he who was *taken out of men* was owner of Godhead (as seems good to yourself), how *is* he ordained in things to Godward, i. e., as High Priest? will he therefore bare of the Godhead which he gat, minister in the Priest's office to God, or already having it as his own? for this and nought else will the saying that he gat it signify. But if bare of it, he gat it not; if having it as his own, Godhead^m will surely minister in the Priest's office to God. Why then do you wander distractedly⁶ and jumble all together and blush not, stamping with false mark⁷ the tradition of the Faith?

The Word out of God the Father hath cogent reason even though He be said to execute the Priest's Office before the Father; for He has been styled Priest not apart from flesh, but made (as I said) as we, to whom the glory of the priesthood is accounted an honour.

In another way too it is not hard to see that it is the absurdest possible thing and replete with much folly to say that he who was *taken out of men and ordained unto Godward*, is possessor of Godhead; for if he were taken by God, how possessed he the Nature Which took him? for that which is taken will rather belong to him who took it, as a possession, not that which is taken be the posses-

^m I have adopted the conjectural emendation of the Roman Editors, *θεότης* more probable. for *θεότητος*: but *θεότητος κτήτωρ*,

sor: As for example, A man has become the possessor Bookiii.1. of wealth, or again of skill unto anything : is it not plain to all that he will not himself be the possession of wealth or again of the skill that accrued to him, but rather the possessor of what he has gotten ? but this is I think in no way doubtful:

Hence if on enquiring into the mode of the Incarnation of the Only-Begotten, we find that man became God as coming into possession^s of Godhead, let him be called (after your phrase) possessor of Godhead, for his hath the God-head become. But if the Word being God *came into possessionⁿ of the seed of Abraham*, and being in the form 8 ὥς ἐν προσλήψει of the Father, hath become Man, receiving *the servant's form*, how would one not be distraught, if he chose to say Heb. ii. 16. that that which was taken possessed the Nature That acquired it and hath not rather become the very own of Him Who took it ? Phil. ii. 7.

But that he carries round the force of his own words and inventions and moreover the very name of high Priesthood in unlearned wise unto a mere man born from forth a woman, bearing it away from the Only-Begotten and Word That is out of the Father, he will make manifest by what follows too : for he has written again on this wise:

„ *Not ° Angels doth He take hold of, but Abraham's seed*
 „ *He taketh hold of.* Is the Godhead Abraham's seed ? Heb. ii. 16.
 „ *Hear the following utterance too : Wherefore it behoved*
 „ *Him, he saith, in all things to be made like unto His brethren.* Ib. 17.
 „ *Had God the Word any brothers like unto His Godhead ?*
 „ *Mark what is straightway joined on to these, That He*
 „ *might be made a merciful and faithful High Priest in things* Ib.
 „ *to God-ward, for in that He Himself hath suffered being*
 „ *tempted, He is able to succour them that are tempted.* Ib. 18.

ⁿ ἐπελάβετο. The whole foregoing argument shews that this is the sense which S. Cyril gives to ἐπιλαμβάνεται in Heb. ii. 16. In his Treatise *De Recta fide*, to the Emperor Theodosius, p. 10 fin. which he again put forth in a more popular form in the shape of a Dialogue to Hermias, p. 684, S. Cyril uses the

word ἐπεδράξατο, *took fast hold on*, a hold never to be let go of.

^o This passage is given in full by Mercator p. 111 Bal. immediately after the foregoing, which had been *from the eighth quire* : a few words are also given before the council of Ephesus, *from the sixth quire*, p. 206 Bal.

AG. NEST. „Therefore He Who suffered is a *merciful High Priest* :
 „passible is the Temple, not the quickening God of him
 „that has suffered: the *seed of Abraham* is he which is
 Heb. xiii. „*yesterday and to-day*, as Paul saith, not He That saith,
 S. John „*Before Abraham was I am*. Like to his brethren in all
 viii. 58. „things is he which assumed brother-hood of human soul
 Ib. xiv. 9. „and flesh and not He which saith, *He that hath seen Me*
 „*hath seen the Father.*„

§ 2 The Word therefore being God *took* (as he too hath just
 now confessed) *Abraham's seed* ; how then is he that is
 forth of the seed of Abraham any longer possessor of
 Godhead, if he were taken by God, did not himself take
 Godhead? *The seed of Abraham* then will by no means be
 the Nature of Godhead, but rather hath become the Body
 of God the Word, according to the Scriptures, and His
 Own, and He Who in His own proper Nature is uncounted
 among the creation as God, when He became Man who is
 part of the creation, then, then and with reason deigns
 Ps. xxii. He to call us brothers saying, *I will declare Thy Name*
 22. *unto My brethren*. But that by reason of the measure of
 emptiness, the Word out of God the Father hath descended
 even to having to call those upon the earth His brothers,
 the most wise Paul will clearly shew, writing of Him and
 Heb. ii. us, *For both He That sanctifieth and they who are being sanc-*
 11, 12. *tified are all out of one, for which cause He is not ashamed*
to call them brethren saying, I will declare Thy Name unto
My brethren. For before the Incarnation, exceeding petty
 to the Word Which sprang of God was the name of brother-
 hood with us : but when He had descended unto voluntary
 emptiness, petty was it thus too, yet hath it come fitly
 in, for He hath partaken of blood and flesh and of those
 in flesh and blood has been styled Brother. For if He is
 sanctified in that He have become Man albeit God by Na-
 ture and Himself the Giver of the Spirit, how if He be
 called Brother too, will it not be so said in due order? for
 for this cause He hath become as we that He might render
 us brothers and free, *for as many* (it says) *as received Him,*
to them gave He authority to become children of God, to them

see Schol.
§ 36

S. John
i. 12, 13.

that believe on *His Name*, which were begotten not out of Book iii. 2. blood nor out of the will of the flesh nor out of the will of man but out of God. For the Word out of God the Father has been with us born after the flesh that we too might be enriched with the birth out of God through the Spirit, no longer termed children of flesh but transelemented rather into what was above nature and termed sons of God by grace : for He has been made as one of us who is by Nature and truly Only-Begotten Son.

And unerring is the word ; the Divine-uttering Paul will give us assurance thereto, saying on this wise, *And because* Gal. iv. 6. *ye are sons, God sent forth the Spirit of His Son into your hearts, crying Abba Father.* Why then do you offer violence to the wisdom of the economy as though it appeared to have been wrought in no fitting order, in that you say, „Is the Godhead Abraham's seed? had He any brothers „like to the Godhead?„ Is not this clear madness? for the absurdly enquiring into and bearing away unto blasphemy, things so right and unblameable in respect of the Economy in Christ, what else is it than proof of the most utter distraction? for confessedly in respect of the nature of the body or of human nature perfect as far as itself is concerned, has the Word out of God the Father been made *like unto* us and in every thing like save sin alone. But I will ask him who says „Had God the Word any brothers „like to the Godhead?„ what idea (I pray) had the most holy Paul in his mind when he wrote to certain, *Little* Ib. 19. *children of whom I travail in birth again until Christ be formed in you,* and elsewhere too to those who through faith are perfected in spirit, *But we all with unveiled face* 2 Cor. iii. 18, 17. *reflecting the glory of the Lord are changed into His image from glory to glory as by the Lord the Spirit ; now the Lord is the Spirit, and where the Spirit of the Lord, there liberty?* Doth he therefore say this to the Galatians as not having the impress ⁹ in regard to bodily freedom, of that which is 9 τοὺς τούτους of the seed of David after the flesh, but is he travelling again with them that Christ after the flesh may somehow be engraven on them and formed in them? albeit how will not

AG. NEST. every body (I suppose) unhesitatingly say, that all who are on the earth are conformed one to another and to Christ Himself, in so far as He is conceived of as man, Who is both Man and with us? what formation then unto Christ was it that was sought for in them? or how are we *transformed from glory to glory*, what form leaving, unto what are we transelemented? Let therefore the Divine initiator come forward and teach us, the Priest¹ of the Divine

¹ *ἐποπ-γός*
 1 Tim. ii. Mysteries, the *teacher of the Gentiles in faith and verity*;
 7.
 Rom. viii. *for whom* (says he) *He knew, and predestinated to be con-*
 29, 30. *formed to the image of His Son, them He also called.* Therefore (as I said just now) in that He was made man and was of the seed of Abraham, we all are conformed to Him: all therefore who are on earth, the Father both fore-knew and fore-ordained; and these having called He *sanctified and glorified*. But verily not all were fore-ordained, not all were sanctified or glorified:—the fact therefore of conformation unto the Son will not be conceived of as existing in the nature alone of the flesh or of manhood, but in another way also, and this the blessed Paul sets before us

1 Cor. xv. saying, *And as we bare the image of the earthy we shall*
 49. *bear the image too of the heavenly*; calling the image of the earthy, that of our forefather Adam, of the heavenly, that of Christ. What then first is the image of our forefather? proneness to sin, becoming under death and decay. What again that of the heavenly? being in no wise overcome of passions, not knowing to transgress, not being subject to death and decay, holiness, righteousness, and whatever are akin to and like these. But these (I suppose) will befit the Divine and Untaint Nature to possess: for superior to both sin and decay is Holiness and Righteousness. Herein does the Word out of God the Father restore us

2S. Pet. i. too, rendering us *partakers of His own Divine Nature*
 4. *through the Spirit.*

He has therefore brothers like to Himself and bearing the image of His Divine Nature, in regard of holiness; for thus is *Christ formed in us*, the Holy Ghost as it were transelementing us from things human unto those that are

Gal. iv.
 19.

His own. Therefore to us too said the blessed Paul, *But* Bookiii.2.
YE are not in the flesh, but in the spirit. Therefore the Son Rom.viii.
transfers not ought at all of things that have been made 9.
into the Nature of His own Godhead (for that were impossible) : but there is impressed on those who have been made partakers of His Divine Nature through their partaking of the Holy Ghost the spiritual Likeness with Him, and the Beauty of the Ineffable Godhead flashes upon the souls of the saints. Why then dost thou assigning the mere and alone likeness of the flesh, not blush, disregarding the Divine and Spiritual forming, yea rather taking it utterly away? Yet the Lord of all and Only-Begotten God lowered Himself unto emptiness for our sakes, that He might bestow on us the Dignity of brother-hood with Him and the Beauty worthy of all love, of His Innate Nobility : and this man, bereaving us of all that is most lovely, says that a mere man hath become our brother and shews that sure (as he supposes) is his account hereof, adding „ Mark too what is straightway joined on to these, *That* Heb. ii.
„ He might be a merciful and faithful High Priest in things 17, 18.
„ God-ward, for in that He Himself hath suffered being
„ tempted, He is able to succour them that are tempted.
„ Therefore a merciful High Priest is He That suffered :
„ passible is the Temple, not the quickening God of him
„ which hath suffered. „ Therefore that by choosing thus to think and moreover daring to say it too, he severs again into distinct hypostases ² and into two Persons, the Word ² ὑποστάσεις from forth God the Father and him whom himself has just introduced to us as a God-bearing man, if so be that one and apart by himself is he that suffered, and another he that quickeneth, I suppose that no one whatever will doubt.

But in another way also is he beside himself, having quaffed wine *from forth the vine of Sodom*, and drunk with error and haply not even knowing what he saith : for where hath the Word out of God the Father been called (I shudder at saying it) the God of Christ? for there is Deut. xxxii. 32.
One Lord Jesus Christ, and one faith in Him, not as see chapter 6

AG. NEST. though in two distinct persons, but as through one Baptism into One Son and God and Lord, the Word out of God the Father even when He became Man. For not because He became as we, will He lose the being God (how should He?) nor yet because He is God by Nature, doth He hold the likeness to us inadmissible³ nor will He reject the being man; but as He hath remained in human nature God, so being both in the Nature and Pre-eminence of the Godhead, none the less is He Man. Both therefore in the Same, and One God and Man is Emmanuel.

But this good man rejecting the mode of the Economy as uncomely, removeth from God the Word the human⁴, that He may at last be clearly seen to have in no way aided our condition. For he says that not He became an *High Priest* both *Merciful and Faithful*, but allots this rather to him that suffered as being other than He. Yet how should he not, if he had desired to be a wise initiator, have made an exact muster⁵ of the expressions and ideas that are in the God-inspired Scripture and considered that this is a thing which is both truly God-befitting and not apart from what befits and beseems the emptying⁶: and how we will say as briefly as we can.

The God of all uttered the Law to them of old, Moses being mediator. But there was not in the Law the power of achieving good without any blame, to those who wished it (for it *hath perfected nothing*). But neither was the first covenant found *faultless*, but the all-wise Paul called it the *ministry of condemnation*^p. I hear him say, *We know that what things soever the law saith, it saith to them who are under the law, that every mouth may be stopped and all the world may become under sentence before God, because by the deeds of the law there shall no flesh be justified in His sight, (for the Law worketh unto wrath, and the Letter killeth), and as himself somewhere saith, He that despised Moses' law dieth without mercy under two or three witnesses. Seeing therefore that the Law condemneth them that sin and de-*

^p The present text has *κατάκριμα δὲ διακονίας*, *condemnation of ministry*, I have translated *κατακρίματος δὲ διακονία*.

creeth sometimes the uttermost punishment to them that disregard it, and in no wise pitieth, how was not the manifestation to them on the earth of a Compassionate and truly Merciful High Priest necessary? of One Who should make the curse to cease, should stop the condemnation and free sinners with forgiving^q grace and with the bending⁷ of clemency? for I (He says) *am He that blotteth out thy transgressions and will not remember*. For we have been justified by faith and not out of the works of the Law, as it is written. On Whom then believing are we justified? is it not on Him who suffered death for us after the flesh? is it not on One Lord Jesus Christ? have we not on declaring His Death and confessing⁸ His Resurrection been re- deemed? If therefore we have believed on a man like us and not rather on God, the thing is man-worship, and confessedly nothing else: but if we believe that He That suffered in the flesh is God, Who hath been made also our High Priest, we have no ways erred, but acknowledge the Word out of God made Man: and thus is required of us faith God-ward, Who putteth out of condemnation and freeth from sin those that are taken thereby. For the Son of man hath authority on the earth also to forgive sins, as Himself too saith. Contrasting therefore with the salvation and grace that is through Christ the harshness (so to speak) of the law's severity, we say that Christ was made a Merciful High Priest. For He was and is God Good by Nature and Compassionate and Merciful always, and hath not become this in time but was so manifested to us. And He has been named Faithful^r, as abiding what

Bookiii.2.

⁷ νεύμα-
σιν, as-
sent
Isa. xliii.
25.

Gal. ii.
16.

⁸ i. e., in
Baptism:

¹ S. Pet.
iv. 1.

S. Matt.
ix. 6.

^q ἀμνηστικόν, cf. in Micah vii. 18. passeth by the transgression.

^r "The sacred writers . . . acknowledged two senses of the word faithful in Scripture, first believing, then trustworthiness, of which the former belongs to man, the latter to God. Thus Abraham was faithful because he believed God's word; and God faithful, for, as David says in the psalm, *The Lord is faithful in all His words*, or is trustworthy and cannot lie. Again, *If any faithful woman have widows*, she is so called from her right faith; but, *It is a faithful saying*, because what He hath spoken has a claim on our

faith, for it is true and is not otherwise. Accordingly the words, *who is faithful to Him That made Him*, implies no parallel with others, nor means that by having faith He became well-pleasing: but that, being Son of the True God, He too is faithful and ought to be believed in all He says and does, Himself remaining unalterable and not changed by His human economy and fleshly presence." S. Athanasius against the Arians ii. 6. p. 289 O.T. "Faithful because Onely (μόνιμος) and lasting and trusty unto the faith of His Promises." S. Cyril de recta fide to the Empresses

98 Faithful, *passing not away* ; High Priest, *offering Himself*.

AG. NEST. He is always, according to what is said of the Father Himself too, *But God is faithful Who will not suffer you to be tempted above that ye are able.*

1 Cor. x. 13. *A merciful and faithful High-Priest* therefore has Emmanuel been made unto us ; for (as Paul saith) *the one were many priests because they were by death hindered from remaining, He, because He continueth for ever, hath a priest-hood that passeth not, wherefore He is able to save also unto the uttermost them that come unto God through Him, ever living to intercede for them.* That the Word out of the Father hath remained God, albeit made priest, as it is written, on account of the fashion and mode that befitteth the Economy with flesh, the word of the blessed Paul hath been sufficient unto our full assurance, for he said again, *Now of the things which have been said this is the sum, We have such an High Priest, Who sat at the Right Hand of the Throne of the Majesty in the heavens, a Minister of the sanctuary and of the Very Tabernacle which the Lord pitched and not man.* View therefore view the Word Which sprang of God illustrious as God in supremest excellencies and in the Seat of Godhead, and the Same executing the Priest's Office as man and offering to the Father no sacrifice of earth but Divine rather and spiritual and how He has Heav-
 Ib. viii. 1, 2. *en as His Holy Tabernacle.* For *not after the law of a carnal commandment* has He been made High Priest, *but after the power of an indissoluble life*, as it is written. *Faithful* therefore is He in this too, and sure⁹ to them who come to Him, that He is able full easily to save them quite, for with
 9 ἐχέ-
 γγως
 Ib. x. 14. *His own Blood and with One Offering hath He perfected for ever them that are sanctified.* For this I deem doth the
 Ib. ii. 18. *holy Paul shew us saying, for in that He Himself hath suffered being tempted, He is able to succour them that are tempted.* Why then unrecking of thoughts which pertain unto piety and straying from words of rightness and truth, does he say, „ He That suffered is a Merciful High Priest,

Pulcheria and Eudocia, § 5, p. 135 d. *through Him* to God, and the Father
 “He is called faithful because He is too has been called faithful.” Ib. § 18, p.
 able to save always them who approach 148 fin.

„Passible the Temple, not the Life-giving God of Him Book iii. 3.
 „Who suffered? „

That the Word of God then hath of His own Will suffered in the flesh for our sakes, shall be shewn in its own time: book 5
 but that he is severing the Inseverable and setting forth two christs by the effect of his ideas, even though he clearly say One Christ, he shall be no less convicted through what has been forthwith subjoined, for he said again,

„Abraham's seed is He Who was *yesterday and to-day*, Heb. xiii. 8.
 „according to the voice of Paul, not He Who saith, *Before* S. John viii. 58.
 „*Abraham was, I am. Like to His brethren in all things,*
 „He Who assumed brotherhood of human soul and body,
 „not He Who saith, *He that hath seen Me hath seen the* Ib. xiv. 9.
 „*Father.* He was sent Who is consubstantial with us and
 „has been *anointed to preach remission to the captives and* S. Luke iv. 18.
 „*recovery of sight to the blind, for the Spirit of the Lord is*
 „*upon Me, wherefore He anointed Me.,*

Thou *severest* therefore into two again and that patently, § 3
 then how art thou not convicted of being *sensual* and *hav-* S. Jude 19.
ing not the Spirit, as saith the disciple of the Saviour? but the might of the Truth will array itself (o man) against thy words. For we affirm that the Word Himself out of God the Father took hold *of Abraham's seed*, and made His own body having a reasonable soul the body which was assumed of the holy Virgin. And verily by true union do we say that One and the Same is He Who was *yesterday and to-day and* Heb. xiii. 8.
for ever, and Who *before Abraham* Divinely, was made man after and underwent birth of a woman. Hence He will not lie in saying, *Verily I say unto you, Before Abraham was I am.* S. John viii. 58.

But he does not the least understand what *yesterday and to-day and for ever* is. For that he may shew that the Word of God is Eternal and that by Nature and superior to change and turn, even though He have been made Man, he parted the whole of time into three periods, and puts *yesterday* of past time, *to-day* of the present, and *for ever* of the future. But this boorish man against reason [says] that *yesterday and to-day* are spoken by him of a

AG. NEST. common man, not considering that it will full surely shew Him to have been older and pre-existent to His own Birth, if He were at all of *yesterday*, which is indicative of time past. That not one is He that is *yesterday and to-day*, Jesus Christ, another He Who saith, *before Abraham was I am*, but One and the Same by a true Union, the Word having been made Man as we and having preserved to His own Nature, even when He was made man, the being without beginning in time, one may see and that without trouble, in the God-inspired Scripture. For as the blessed Evangelist John

S. John i. 15. saith of Christ the Saviour of us all, *John beareth witness of Him and hath cried saying, He That cometh after me has been made^s before me, for He was before me*, and again,

Ib. 29,30. *The next day he looketh at Jesus coming unto him and saith, Behold the Lamb of God Which taketh away the sin of the world, This is He of Whom I said, After me cometh a Man Which has been made before me, for He was before me.* Thou seest then and that very clearly the Divine-uttering Baptist calling Jesus *a Man* and *coming after*, as being late-born and after him, yet preceding him and pre-existing, for this, I deem, the words, for *He was before me* and *has been made before me*, mean. How then if He is a Man, is

^s γέγονεν, *has been made*, or *has become*. S. Cyril in his commentary appears to understand the word in the sense of, *has surpassed my measure and come to be before me, though I was before Him in time*; the latter words *for He was before me*, i.e. as God, giving the reason of His surpassing John the Baptist's measure and calling. See S. Cyril on S. John i. 15, pp. 98, 99: pp. 113 sqq. O.T.

Elsewhere S. Cyril says, "we must therefore attribute to Him even with flesh the seniority, as God by Nature united to flesh, and in the habit of communicating (κοινωνοποιεῖν) to His own Body the goods of His proper Nature." de recta fide to the Emperor, p. 39 b, retained in de Incarnatione Unigeniti 711 b. "John says of Christ, '*He who cometh after me*, i. e. He who is manifested after me,' Whom he himself heralded, '*has been made before me*,' i. e. preceding in glory; *for He was first* in Being also as God. How then is he who is after Him before Him in time? because the Word was God and has been made flesh, having the precedence in

that He is Word, the second place as to the flesh, even though *out of His fulness* have all the saints partaken: for alone full is the Godhead as It saith through the voice of Isaiah [the allusion is to Isaiah i. 11, πλήρης εἰμί which S. Cyril read separately from the words following, as his citations beginning with the words following in Glaph. 19 a, on S. John 140 b shew]: to It Alone will pertain rendering others partakers of Itself out of Its own fulness. This Christ hath done. There is therefore One Son and Lord, the Word out of God made flesh, the same God alike and Man. The following will have the same meaning: *This is He of whom I said, After me cometh a man who has been made before me for He was prior to me.* For lo calling Him *a man* and *coming after*, he says that He is first (πρῶτον) as God. For in the beginning *was the Word and the Word was God.*⁵¹ de recta fide to the Princesses Arcadia and Marina 113 b c d. See also below Quod unus Christus.

He conceived of as pre-existing and is said to be before Bookiii.3. him who had the start of Him in time and had his birth in the flesh older than His? For if this were said of a man like us, every body would (I suppose) be at a loss to defend it, but in regard to Christ the Saviour of us all, there is no difficulty. For He Who is out of God makes His own the birth of His own flesh, yet is He not ignorant that He is Maker of the worlds and hath pre-existence as God, and is Co-eternal with His own Father. For we do not say that He hath His Being contemporaneous with the birth of His own body, but was (as I said) ineffably begotten of the Essence of God the Father. Therefore having His Being before Abraham as God even though He was made Man, He will not speak falsely in saying, as One in truth both Son and Lord, *Before Abraham was I am.*

And marvel not if He hath apportioned to His own Nature the being *before Abraham*, but consider rather that albeit He had taken a body of the holy Virgin, He said to Nicodemus, *If I have told you earthly things and ye believe not, how shall ye believe if I tell you heavenly things? and no man hath ascended up into heaven but He That came down from Heaven, the Son of Man*, albeit He was called *son of man* too, born of a woman after the flesh. Will He then be false in saying that there hath come down from Heaven the son of man, i. e., Himself? Not so, for He is Himself the Truth. How then will the son of man be rightly conceived of as from above? because the Word being God and out of the Essence That is above all, is said to have come down and to have taken the servant's form. Therefore He converseth with us, not as any longer bare¹ Word, but S. John
iii. 12, 13. man as we, and as already conceived of as One with the ¹ γυμνός,
unclad in
flesh. Flesh united to Him. And as by reason of what beseemeth the emptiness, He maketh His own all that belongs to His own Flesh, albeit by Nature unembodied; so Himself being from above and out of Heaven, He allotteth again the coming from above to Himself even when He hath been made Man, even though He hath been born according to the flesh with us of a woman. The properties therefore of the human

AG. NEST. nature have become the very own of the Word, those again of the Word Himself, the very own of the human nature : for thus is conceived of One Christ and Son and Lord.

² καινοτό-
μος But since this innovator² has added that „*like to His*

S. John
xiv. 9. „*brethren in all things* is He Who assumed brotherhood of

„human soul and flesh, not He Who saith, *He that hath seen*

„*Me hath seen the Father*, „come now let us again consider

as we can what it is which he here saith. For that the

³ χαρα-
κτηρ Son is the Image and Impress³ of God the Father, he too

hath confessed : who again „He is Who of human soul and

„body assumed brotherhood, „i. e., with us, let him come

forward and teach ; for no one would say that a man like

us, such as (for example) Barnabas or Paul or any other

of those who are reckoned among men, would be said to

take brotherhood of human soul and body, as though he

were ought else than this, and so took it, but he is so

rather in being what he is. Not one therefore who is man

could be conceived as taking the being what he is, as

though it were other than he : but it will beseem rather

the Word which sprang forth of God, having no rank

among us in regard to the count⁴ of His own Nature, to

take „brotherhood of human soul and body „with us.

And the word of the truth contends on our side and the

tradition of the undefiled Faith. It holds then that God

the Word in the Form of God the Father has been made our

Brother in all things, taking „brotherhood of human soul

„and body, „and will not speak falsely in saying, *He that*

hath seen Me hath seen the Father. For if any among us

had fallen into such unlearning in his ideas as to suppose

that God the Father Himself Which is in Heaven must

needs come down, even to the having likeness with us (I

mean bodily) ; he might well have feared lest that when

Christ says, *He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father*, he

might be imagining that He too out of Whom He is, was in

form as we, and in fashion of body. But since when He

was made man, He preserved the being God, and holdeth

the Beauty of His own Nature untarnished⁵, I would no

wise shrink from saying that He possesseth likeness with

see above
pp. 16,
33, 64

⁴ λόγους

Ib.

⁵ ἀπαρ-
ποίητον,
unaltered,
undimin-
ished

us, in respect of His being man as we, Who is of soul and Bookiii.3.
body, albeit God by Nature and Impress of the Person of
Him Who hath begotten Him. One therefore and the
Same is He, like to His brethren after the flesh, yet shew-
ing in His own Nature Him too Who begat Him, in regard
I say to His being God.

But this man doth not understand this (whence should
he?) but adulterating (so to speak) the plan of the mystery
which is right and unalloyed, he introduces to us one and
another christ, and caught in Jewish accusals, perceives
not where he is nor in what reach of ills he hath come.
For they of the blood of Israel heard God crying aloud
through one of the holy Prophets respecting Emmanuel,
And THOU Bethlehem house of Ephratha, little art thou to be Mic. v. 2.
among the thousands of Judah; out of thee shall He come
to Me to be ruler in Israel, and His goings forth from the be-
ginning from the days of eternity: and again, His gene- Isa. liii. 8.
ration who shall tell? because His life is raised from the
earth. And they, no wise understanding the mystery nor
yet knowing that albeit God by Nature and having the see on
origin of His Being Invisible and Incomprehensible, He S. John
was called Bethlehemite as being there born after the flesh vii. 27
out of the root of Jesse and David, said one to another, *Is* pp. 517,
not this He Whom they seek to kill? lo, He speaketh boldly 518 O.T.
and they say nothing unto Him; do the rulers know that This
Man is the Christ? Yet we know this Man whence He is,
but Christ when He cometh, no man knoweth whence He is.
For they heard (as I said) the Prophet saying plainly, *His*
generation who shall tell? and that He hath *His goings forth*
or *His Being* before every age. View again (I pray) the S. John
vastness of Jewish stupor ⁶: for on saying *The Christ when* vii. 25—
He cometh, no one knoweth whence He is, they said again 27.
one to another, *Of a truth this is the Prophet: others (it* 6 εμβρον-
Scripture that out of the seed of David and from Bethlehem τησια
the village where was David, the Christ cometh? Seest thou Ib. 27.
how they stagger, confessing both His being apart from
beginning, Divinely, and His fleshly Generation in time? Ib. 40—
42.

AG. NEST. But they would not have been carried away into mis-counsel thus extravagant, if they had known truly that the Word being God, proceeded Man out of the root of Jesse and David and of the holy Virgin, and that the Lord of earth and Heaven and of all was called a Bethlehemite too, for

2 Cor. viii. 9. He shared poverty with us *being Rich*, as it is written.

7 *τερθρελ-
αις* Why therefore plunging thee in the sleights⁷ of the Jews dost thou both deem and say what it is neither lawful to say nor yet harmless to conceive of? confess with us One Christ, and do not severing into two again say this, „He was sent that is consubstantial with us and has been „*anointed to preach remission to the captives and recovery of „sight to the blind.* „ Whither then will go the word of the divines⁸, who have been initiators of all under Heaven? for they have cried aloud that the very Word out of God the Father, was made Saviour and Redeemer of all, not as though a man other than He were mediating, like as Moses, but rather as come down to us in bodily likeness and form, for thus^t has He been anointed as High Priest and Apostle.

8 *των θεη-
γόρων*

S. John x. 34—36. And indeed He rebuked the Jews saying, *Is it not written in your Law, I said, Ye are gods? if he called them gods to whom the word of God came and the scripture cannot be broken: Him Whom the Father sanctified and sent into the world, do YE say [to Him], thou blasphemest, because I said, I am the Son of God? why (I pray) shall we put Him Who abased Himself unto emptiness that He might save all under Heaven, forth of the most God-befitting and truly admirable achievements that have been wrought unto us-ward, by saying that there has been sent some other than He consubstantial with ourselves? albeit how were it not better to say and thus to chuse to think, that He has been both sent and hath been made consubstantial with us, i. e., man: yet abiding Consubstantial with God the Father Himself too, as He is both conceived of and was and is God? for He is, He is what He was, even when He assumed the humanity, and having sameness of Essence with God the Father Which is in Heaven, He grasped in*

^t *thus*; I have amended *οὕτως* for *οὗτος*.

wisdom the likeness with us too; as Mediator too has He Book iii. 3.
 been set forth, combining through Himself unto an union
 of relation ⁹ things completely dissevered one from another ⁹ σχέτι-
κῆν
 as to the plan of their nature. For He being God by
 Nature has been made man in truth, that we too might be
 called *offspring*, no more of the first, that is, of the earthy, Acts xvii.
29.
 to whom it was said by God, *Earth thou art and unto earth* Gen. iii.
19.
shalt thou return, who conducteth even unto death, but of
 the second, from above and out of Heaven, Christ I mean
 Who bringeth us again unto purest^u life, and rendereth
 incorrupt that which is holden of death and freeth from
 sins that which was enfolden by the toils of sin. Thus saith
 somewhere the Father Himself to the Son, *Behold I have* Isa. xlii.
6, 7.
given Thee for a Covenant of the race^v for a Light of the
Gentiles, to open the eyes of the blind, to bring forth of chains
the bound and of the prison-house them that sat in darkness;
 and again by the voice of Isaiah, *The beasts of the field shall* Ib. xliii.
20, 21.
honour Me, the Sirens and the daughters of the ostriches^x,
because I gave water in the wilderness and rivers in the thirsty
land to give drink to Mine offspring, chosen, My people whom
I won¹ for Myself, to declare My Virtues. The which un- 1 περιεποι-
ησάμην
 derstanding very well of those of the Gentiles called through
 faith unto true knowledge of God, the Divine-uttering
 Peter writeth and saith, *But YE are a chosen race, a royal* 1 S. Pet.
ii. 9, 10.
priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people^y, that ye should
tell out the Virtues of Him Who calleth you out of dark-
ness into His wondrous light, of old not a people, but now
a people.

But if as seems good to thee to think and say, ,, he was
 ,, sent who is consubstantial with us, ,, no longer with the
 Father, in no wise have WE been made partakers of the

^u ἀκήρατον, without spot or mixture
 of ought that is not life.

^v γένους, the race, used of the Jews
 in contrast with the Gentiles, as we too
 translate the people; and as S. Paul
 to Agrippa says that our Lord spake to
 him (Acts xxvi. 17) *delivering thee from*
the people [=the Jews] and from the Gen-
tiles. But S. Cyril here seems to take
 the word race as expressing the nearer
 relation in which God was bringing all
 (Jews and Gentiles) to Himself through

the Incarnation.

^x cf. *daughters of the owl* in the mar-
 gin of the English Bible.

^y λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν, a people for ac-
 quisition, compare λαὸν μου ὃν περιεποι-
 ησάμην, *My people whom I won for My-*
self, in the passage of Isaiah quoted
 above; and the alternative rendering,
a purchased people, in our own English
 margin here: compare also to declare
My Virtues above, with the words here,
 to shew forth the praises of Him &c.

AG. NEST. Divine Nature, but have abode as I said, and are yet off-
² or, race, spring ² of the first, of him who conducteth unto curse and
 γένος death and under penalty of sin. We have therefore been
 deceived² and are no less now too in that case wherein we
 2 Cor. v. were of old and before the Advent. How then did *old*
 17. *things pass away and lo they have become new?* and where
 is, *If any be in Christ, he is a new creature?*

But are you ashamed to confess the Word of God God
 made man as we? do you therefore chide Him and say that
 He hath planned no wise matter when He emptied Him-
 self for our sakes? Therefore thou shalt hear Him say,
 S. Matt. *Get thee behind Me Satan, thou art an offence unto Me, for*
 xvi. 23. *thou savourest not the things that be of God but those of*
men. Search with us the God-inspired Scripture; He ap-
 peared of old to the Patriarch Jacob too when he was de-
 parting from Laban's hearth, and was at the very fords
 Gen. of Jabok, as it is written: for *Jacob was left alone and there*
 xxxii. 22. *was wrestling a man with him until morning, and he knows*
 Ib. 24— that *he prevaieth not against him and he touched the flat of*
 26. *his thigh and the flat of Jacob's thigh stiffened in his wrestling*
with him; and he said to him, Dismiss me for the dawn hath
gone up, and he said, I will not dismiss Thee except Thou
 Ib. 30, 31. *bless me.* And after other again, *And Jacob called the name*
of that place, The Form of God, for I saw God Face to face
and my life was preserved; and the sun rose upon him when
he passed by the Form of God. Understand therefore how
 not as incorporal and impalpable Word did He deign to
 shew Himself then to the Patriarch, foreshewing to him
 the type of the mystery, but He Who wrestled and con-
 sumed the whole night thereupon was a man. But when
 the day was dawning and it was morning, He says, *Dismiss*
Me, which was clearly the word of one who was bringing
 to an end the wrestling.

³ λόγος And what is the plan³ of the mystery, it is necessary
 to say. With them who abide as it were in night and dark-

² or, reduced to emptiness, *μεματά-
 ωνται*, cf. Jer. ii. 5. *ἐματαιώθησαν* have
 become vain, have walked after empty
 gods and become themselves emptied

out: so we too if our Mediator were
 but man, should have been reduced to
 utter emptiness.

ness, and have a spiritual mist o'er mind and heart and cannot yet understand the mystery Him-ward, He useth to wrestle and fight and overcome; but with them who are now in light and so to speak in spiritual morning and have good understanding of the Mystery, He thinketh not good any longer to wrestle, but dispenseth to them instead spiritual blessings. Hence if even at length and hardly you should enter in yourself too into the light and so to speak into the morning, He Who conquereth all would cease fighting with you. And see how whereas it was a man who wrestled, the Divine-uttering Jacob says that he had seen God Face to face: and the sacred Scripture added that *the sun arose upon him when he passed by the Form of God.* Why therefore (I pray) are you ashamed at the measures of the emptiness, albeit every one (I suppose) who both holds the right faith and examines accurately the aim of the God-inspired Scripture says that the Word out of God the Father was both Incarnate and made Man? He therefore Who is consubstantial with us, in that He has been made Man, and to the Father Himself, in that He hath remained God even in human nature, was sent preaching *remission to the captives and recovery of sight to the blind, and to heal the broken in heart, and to call the acceptable year of the Lord:* for His Alone and of none other are the deeds which have been wrought us, and one of the holy Prophets shall be our pledge, thus saying, *No ambassador, no angel, but the Lord Himself saved us,* who also most clearly saith to us, *Therefore My people shall know My Name in that day, I Who speak am present.* Albeit if he who has been sent were some mere man, how would Himself be conceived of as having spoken the Law which was long ago given to them of old? for not at all proceeding as man, would He be said to have been made man, lest He should be seen to have an existence elder to His coming into being: but preexisting as God, He hath spoken indeed the Law, but says that He is *present* in some strange and unwonted way Ib. when He has been made Man.

„ But yes (says he) the Word being God fulfils all things: „

Bookiii.3.
see
Glaph.
p. 170.

Isa. lxiii.
9. LXX.

Ib. lii.
6.

see above
p. 52

AG. NEST. „how then was He also sent, for where was He not Who „fulfils all things? „what (tell me) shall we admit that the Divine and Consubstantial Trinity has been contracted rather than that it is spread over all and fulfils all things? Then how hath the great Moses, when some of them of old were building the Heaven-reaching⁴ tower, introduced God saying, *Come let us go down and there confound their tongues?* what descent needed the Nature That fills both Heaven and earth? it is written of the Holy Ghost too, *The Spirit of the Lord hath filled the earth*; the blessed David sings and says of them that lie in the earth to God Who is mighty to quicken, *Thou shalt send forth Thy Spirit and they shall be created and Thou shalt renew the face of the earth.* How is That sent forth which filleth all things? Do not therefore (putting forward as something clever and hard to be overturned^a, that He Who is mighty to fulfil all things, the Word out of God the Father, has His mission an impossibility) hasten to undo the truth and to overturn the power of the Mystery; but consider rather that He speaketh in human wise of the things that belong to God and they are conceived of by us in such sort as both Himself Alone may know, and as He is wont to act.

But since as little and human and in boundless degree below the dignity of the Only Begotten He receives the unction^b, come let us say what is reasonable upon this point too, undoing occasions of offence. If therefore He have not been made Man, let Him shake off things human, let Him repudiate the Economy as putting Him in inferior position and setting^c Him behind the Supreme Glory and God-befitting Excellence; for petty to the Word is what is ours. But since the Mystery is of a truth wise and the fact of the emptying not to be rejected by Him, why dost thou foolhardily⁵ find fault with things that are right? and turn away as uncomely what is crowned with His Approval⁶? didst thou see Him anointed humanly? behold

⁴ οὐρανο-
μήκη
Gen. xi.
7.

Wisd. i.
7.

Ps. civ.
30.

⁵ ῥητορικῶς
δύναμις

⁶ ταῖς ἀν-
τοῦ ψήφ-
οις

^a δυσανα with lacuna of about 10 letters, probably δυσανάτρε-
πτον or the like.

^b I have translated χρησιν as if it

were χρίσιν following the conjecture of the Roman Editors.

^c εἰσαν Edd, but probably εἰσαν is the true reading.

the same also anointing Divinely^d: for it is written that *John* Bookiii.3.
too bare record saying, I saw the Spirit descending like a dove S. John
and abiding upon Him and I knew Him not, but He That sent i. 32—34.
me to baptize with water, He said unto me, Upon Whom
thou shalt see the Spirit descending and remaining on Him,
This is He which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost, and I have
seen and borne record that This is the Son of God. For
dost thou say that it is the work of the human nature to
have power to baptize with the Holy Ghost them that be-
lieve? albeit how were it not folly to think that this were
so? for how would the less bestow the participation of
that which is immeasurably superior? And observe that
this very person upon Whom the Spirit is said to soar
down and to remain upon Him, baptizeth with the Holy
Ghost, anointing (it is plain) as God with His own Spirit
them that believe. And verily He rose from the dead,
and *breathed on* His disciples, saying, *Receive ye the Holy* Ib. xx.
Ghost. And they receiving, say, *We received not the spirit* 22.
of the world but the Spirit Which is out of God, that we 1. Cor. ii.
might know the things that were freely given to us of God. 12.
The most wise Paul too writes, *They that are in the flesh* Rom. viii.
cannot please God, but YE are not in the flesh but in the spirit 8,9.
if so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you: if any man
have not the Spirit of Christ, this man is not His. And
elsewhere too, *For as many as are led by the Spirit of God,* Ib. 14.
these are the sons of God. Therefore when thou seest Him
anointed with His own Spirit, remember the economy with
flesh and take count of the human nature: when thou seest
Him give the Spirit, with this marvel at God in human
nature too.

But taking no account of these things this contentious ⁷ *ῥῆ δὲ δόσεῖς*
man says again thus:

„ This ^e is he who was made a faithful High Priest to God,

^d See S. Ath. agst. Ar. i. § 47. p. 248
O.T. and note b.

^e Most of this is cited before the Coun-
cil of Ephesus, *from the sixth quire*,
p. 208 Bal. and in the concilia. A few
words are added at the beginning, „ Since
he was saying of Christ that He had been

sent to proclaim remission to the captives,
as an Apostle he adds this too and says,
This is he &c., as Mercator, or, *from the*
sixth quire, speaking of Christ. „ That
He was sent to preach remission to the
captives. As the Apostle adds and says,
This is he &c., as the Greek Edd.

- AG. NEST. „for he was made so, he was not so from eternity, this,
 „heretic, is he who by little and little advanced unto the
 „dignity of the high priesthood. Hear a clearer voice
 Heb. v. 7-9. „calling out to thee, *Who in the days (it says) of His Flesh,*
 „when He offered up prayers and supplications with mighty
 „cry and tears unto Him That was able to save Him from
 „death and was heard for His Piety, though He were Son,
 „He learned obedience by the things He suffered and, made
 „perfect, became unto them that obey Him the Author of in-
 „dissoluble salvation. That is perfected which advances by
 „little and little, heretic. Respecting which John too cries
 S. Luke ii. 52. „out in the Gospels, *Jesus was advancing in stature and*
 „wisdom and grace, conformably to which things Paul too
 Heb. v. 9, 10. „speaking says, *Made perfect He became unto all them that*
 „obey Him the Author of eternal salvation, called of God an
 „High Priest after the order of Melchisedek, this is he who
 „is compared with Moses in regard to generalship^f, that
 „is called seed of Abraham, that is like in all things to his
 „brethren, that was made High Priest in time, that was
 ib. ii. 18. „perfected through sufferings, that *in that he suffered be-*
 „ing tempted is able to succour them that are tempted, that
 „is called an High Priest after the order of Melchisedek.
 „Why then interpret contrary to Paul, commingling the
 „Impassible God the Word with earthly body and making
 „Him a passible High Priest?,
 § 4 Most vigorous onslaught, my friend, and truly spirited
 hast thou made upon the doctrines of piety. And the Di-
 vine-uttering Baruch, pointing out the Word of God already
 Baruch iii. 35-37. Incarnate and seen in likeness to us, says, *This is our God,*
there shall none other be accounted of in comparison of Him,
He found out all the way of knowledge and gave it to Jacob
His servant and to Israel His beloved: afterward did He
shew Himself upon earth and conversed with men. But
 THOU calling out and that full often, This, yea all but putting
 forth thine hand;—who is it that you manifest to believers
 and cause to be seen of them, yea, and say that he ad-

^f κατὰ τὸν τῆς στρατηγίας . . . τύπον, the reference apparently to Deut. xviii. 18, 19, coupled with the words, *like unto thee*.

vanced by little and little unto High Priesthood? I suppose it is surely he of whom but now specifying⁸ thou saidst, „Therefore a Merciful High Priest is he that suffered, „not the quickening God of him that suffered: the seed of „Abraham he who is *yesterday and to-day*, as Paul saith, „not he who saith, *Before Abraham was I am*; like to his „brethren in all things he that assumed brotherhood of „human soul and flesh, not He Who saith, *He that hath „seen Me, hath seen the Father.* „ And that in affirming that the Life-giving Word of God is God of him who suffered, involving yourself in the charge of inevitable blasphemy, you have done no slight wrong⁹, sufficient reasoning made clear to us. But I marvel that thyself oblivious of thine own words, thou deemest right to say alike and think that He by little and little advanced unto the dignity of the High Priest, Whom thou sayest is even God Almighty. For the Epistle written to the Hebrews being before thee, thou art caught saying, „ Yet is This man Who after the „flesh is akin to Israel, Who in that which is visible is Man, „Who according to Paul’s speech was made *out of the seed „of David*, by connection God Almighty. „ How did He yet advance, according to that idle talk, to the dignity of High Priest albeit testified by thy voice too as Almighty God?

And though you utter the ill-famed¹ connection and invented I know not whence by yourself alone, I will pass it over for the present: but I will ask, bidding the argument advance straight on² its own befitting and proper course, Does not that which advances unto Priesthood and glory make its advance or progress unto the better and more excellent? and how will not every one whatever give his vote for the truth of this? Greater therefore than the being Almighty God, is the High Priesthood. Then how does he whose lot is the Priesthood minister too and stand as a worshipper by God, and as a servant by his master, offering what is customable and bringing sacrifices, and He Who is crowned with the Supreme glory receives the sacrifices and is honoured by the service?

But thou sayest (I suppose) this, Being God Almighty the

Bookiii.4.

⁸ παραδειγματίζων
above p.

92.

S. John
viii. 58.

Ib. xiv.
9.

chapter 6

⁹ ἡδίκηκας
οὐ μετ-
ρίως

Rom. i. 3.

¹ ἀκλεῖα

² κατὰ
ῥοῦν

AG. NEST. Same hath become High-Priest. He hath been emptied [§] therefore and hath abased Himself by descent into the inferior. How therefore did He yet advance unto dignity when made an High Priest? Remember again thine own words, for thus thou saidst a little above, „ If the Godhead „ be High Priest, who is He who is served by the ministry „ of the High Priesthood? if He Who offereth be God, „ there is none to whom the offering is made, for what is „ there worthy of Godhead that as inferior It should make „ offering to a greater? „ Stand now at least to your own words; but this you cannot do, for you will be *borne about* (so to say) *by every wind*, and perceive not that you are being driven about, one while springing off from those into these, other while again from these into those, and in no wise are you afraid of what Paul saith, *For if what I destroyed this I build again, I make myself a transgressor.*

above § 1, p. 85.

Eph. iv. 14.

Gal. ii. 18.

But you will perhaps say, Affirming that the Word out of God the Father is everywhere One Christ and Son and Lord, with His own Flesh, how sayest thou now that He has been set forth as an High Priest and Apostle? dost thou not in so saying insult the Supreme Dignity of His Divine Glory?

Because, good Sir, (shall I say) the Only Begotten Word of God has been made man and in the measures of the human nature, the fact of Priesthood will not unbefit Him, and moreover the saying that He has been sent, for He *despised the shame*, as the Divine-uttering Paul writes, and

Heb. xii. 2.

§ Sotoo against the Arians who affirmed that the Son was exalted because man, S. Cyril, following S. Athanasius, says, “ And what accession of honour has there been to Him Who is in the form of God, yet has put on the servant’s form? how will He not rather with reason seem to have been diminished Who left the greater and took up the less? Being God He hath been made man in order to find—what reward? or how was He glorified Who hath descended from glory to dishonour? how hath He been made high Who disregarding the Dignity of Godhead came down even unto manhood? how hath He Who came down, been made above? what advance hath abasement? what betterment He Who from what is better hath come into the inferior? If, God Most High,

and dwelling in high places, He is said to be exalted, whither (I pray) after the Nature of God will that yet mount up which is exalted? how was He low which is in the Bosom of the Most High Father? what accession did God need? if He have therefore come down in order to be exalted, what was the need of the coming down? if He therefore abased Himself in order to be exalted, what was the need of the abasement? how is not he unwise who seeks with toil what he could have without toil? how received He *the Name which is above every name*, Who was ever worshipped in it?” Thes. cap. 20 init. pp. 194, 195, see S. Ath. against Ar. i. § 40. p. 237 O.T.

endured yet lower and worser things for our sakes : for BOOK III. 4.
 He gave His back to the scourges, His Face He turned not Isa. I. 6.
 away from the shame of spittings, and endurant³ He bore τληπα-
θῶς
 the contumelies of the Jews. But thou deemest not meet
 to call Him Priest, as being God? admit the words per-
 taining to the Economy, consider the emptying, the de-
 scent unto the servant's form. For we say not that the
 Word of God advanced and hastened unto dignity, if He
 have been styled our High Priest, but rather that He de-
 scended herein too unto emptiness. Since how has He
 been emptied and is He said to have been abased, albeit He
 possesseth unchangeableness and is in Form and Equality
 in everything with His Father? how too advanced He by
 little and little and this (as thyself sayest) unto the dignity
 of the High Priesthood? what sort of growth received He
 hereunto? If then it were a bodily one, I will ask again,
 Doth bodily growth lead up to the glory of the Priesthood:
 be then this common [to all] and let this method of reason-
 ing of yours belong to every one who advanceth bodily,
 But of a truth the Priesthood beseemeth not all those who
 customably advance unto bodily growth; how therefore
 blushest thou not in putting forth unto us for demonstra-
 tion of those things which thou saidst, what was spoken
 by the Divine-uttering Luke, *But Jesus was advancing in* S. Luke
ii, 52.
stature and wisdom and grace?

But thou sayest that the growth was unto wisdom, albeit
 how is not this without learning? for we believe that out
 of the very belly and womb of the Virgin, Emmanuel be-
 ing God proceeded forth Man, full surely of the wisdom
 and grace that are inherent of Nature. What sort of
 growth then will He admit of, *in Whom are all the trea-* Col. ii. 3.
sures of wisdom, Who is with God the Father Co-giver of
 the grace from above? how then is He said to advance? it
 is, I deem, by God the Word co-measuring with the in-
 crease and stature of His own Body, the manifestation of
 the most God-befitting goods that are in Him. For let us
 consider that although He has been made Man as we, He
 was zealous to lie hid at the first, and administered by little

AG. NEST. and little as it were noiselessly and in silence the might of the Mystery ; and of this God the Father Himself will be our assurance saying, *Jacob My Servant, I will defend Him, Israel My chosen, My Soul received Him, I gave My Spirit upon Him, He shall bring forth judgement to the Gentiles : He shall not cry nor lift up, nor shall His voice be heard without : a bruised reed He shall not break and smoking flax He shall not quench.* And He was somewhere rebuking the holy Apostles themselves *that they should not make Him known.* Hence a thing unwonted and strange and worthy of looking into ⁴, would have been shewn, if being yet a babe, He had made a God-befitting demonstration of wisdom : but He little and little and proportionably to bodily stature, extending ⁵ it and making it manifest to all, will be said to advance and that with reason ^h. How therefore

Isa. xlii. 1—3.

S. Matt. xii. 16.

⁴ περι-εργίας

⁵ κατενύγων

^b In S. Cyril's very famous 16th Paschal homily written at the beginning of previous year, A.D. 430, and cited by Andrew of Samosata in his objection to S. Cyril's fourth chapter and more fully by S. Cyril in his reply to that objection p. 172 e, he says, "And though thou hear that *Jesus was progressing in stature and wisdom and grace*, deem not that the Word of God became wise by accession but rather remember the Divine Paul writing on this wise, *Christ God's Power and God's Wisdom* : nor dare idly to say that we shall allot to the man the progress in *stature and wisdom and grace* (for this I ween is nought else than to sever into two the One Christ), but (as I said before) the Son being Eternal, is in the last times of the world said to have been *declared Son of God* (Rom. i. 4), Economically making His own the birth of His proper flesh : so too being the Wisdom of Him Who begat Him, He is said to progress in wisdom albeit All-Perfect as God, reasonably receiving into Himself the properties of the human nature on account of the completeness of the union (*διὰ τὴν εἰς ἄκρον ἑνωσιν*)." Pasch. Hom. p. 230 a b. Before this date S. Cyril had said, "And as for our sakes He abased Himself, so too for our sakes He admits *progress*, in order that we again in Him might *advance in wisdom* who of old were made beasts by reason of sin, might *advance in favour* too, who of old have been hated because of the transgression in Adam. For all of ours for our sakes did Christ take into Himself that He might transform

all things unto the better and might become the beginning of every good to the race of man." Thes. cap. 28 p. 251 a. In a treatise written at about the same date as the Books against Nestorius, S. Cyril says, "For the mode and plan of the economy with flesh knows that He is both as we and above us ; surpassing the measure of the creation as God, and (so to speak) inferior to Himself in that He is man. For where is the abasement which He voluntarily underwent, if He refuse what is human ? Yet not in these is the nature of the Word conceived to lie, but He rather makes them His own together with His own flesh, just as He does hunger and thirst and the being said to be *wearied with the journey*. When then thou hearest, *The little one waxed and was strengthened, filled with wisdom*, admit in reply the mystery of the economy with flesh. For that He was God in flesh, the blessed Evangelist will himself assure, saying, *the grace of God was on it*. For not as though He had grace from another God is He said to have *the grace of God*, but because the little one had grace which befits God. For the Word was and is God even when He is seen in flesh, i.e. man like us. And if He be said to have *grace* or to *advance in favour (grace)* with both God and men, it is not a whit incongruous, if even the Father Himself accepted the economy and the Son making His own what pertains to flesh because of what alike befits the mystery and is serviceable." de recta fide to the Emperress § 10 p. 139 b c d.

did He advance by little and little unto the Priesthood, BOOK III. 4. tell me, by being perfected in virtue? Then how or whence may one doubt that that which faileth of perfection in virtue, will be under blame, and not wholly an object of admiration, yea rather haply under charge of sin? But it is indeed true that He hath done *no sin neither was guile* 1 S. Pet. ii. 22. *found in His Mouth*, as it is written. Full-perfect ⁶ therefore is He being such unto every thing, and in no wise will He have the lack of being complete unto the achievement of virtue. And when was He That was God in the womb too not Perfect unto good, of Whom the Prophet Isaiah too saith, *Butter and honey shall He eat, before He* Isa. vii. 15, 16. *have knowledge to prefer evil, He shall choose the good, because before the Child shall know good or ill, He shall disobey vice to choose the good?* where then will you be able to demonstrate Christ's yet imperfectness unto good? or what advance will He need who is so Perfect as to disobey vice and to prefer to it, yea only choose, good?

Yet I know not how he who affirmeth and saith „ This „ is he who by little and little advanced to the dignity of „ the high priesthood, „ and who brought forward in proof of his words, *Jesus advanced in stature and wisdom and grace*, all but marking out ⁷ the uncomeliness ⁸ of his own words and gliding into forgetfulness of the things of which he assumed were right, affirms to us that the mode of perfection was wrought in another way, saying, „ This is he who „ in time has been made High Priest, who was perfected „ through sufferings. „ Is not this manifest distraction? yea rather a proof of utter recklessness ⁹? for our Lord Jesus Christ has been made perfect through sufferings, 9 or wickedness. ῥα-διουργίας but this man albeit he was not ignorant of the mode of being made perfect, carries away the minds of the simpler unto certain strange perversions ¹ of ideas and says 1 περι-γωγὰς that He advanced unto being High Priest and has been perfected unto this, Who is said to have been emptied because this took place. And as though he had full clearly shewn that neither was the Word of God made flesh, nor yet proceeded Man out of woman, he chides those who have

AG. NEST. chosen thus to hold and says, „ Why therefore doth thou
 „ mis-interpret Paul, commingling with earthly body the
 „ Impassive God the Word and making Him a passible
 „ High Priest? „ Hear therefore from us too, to whom
 rather the truth is dear, Why dost thou mis-interpret Paul,
 yea rather slanderest the whole God-inspired Scripture,
 withdrawing the Word of God from the economy with
 flesh, and settest over us as priest a man honoured with
 mere connection? albeit thou hearest that the Same is at
 once High Priest and Co-Throned with God the Father,
 as we have already said. For Paul said, *We have such an*
 Heb. viii. 1. *High Priest, Who sat on the Right Hand of the Throne of the*
Majesty in the heavens. For that the Word out of God the
 Father is Impassible, is I suppose clear to every one:
 1 S. Pet. iv. 1. that He *hath suffered for us in the flesh*, the voice of inspired
 2 κατασ- men will seal up² for a truth. But if thyself bear away
 φραγιεῖ, the Word out of God from earthly body, the whole will
 will seal come to nothing. For if He have not been made Man,
 up and so neither did He die for us, and if He have not given unto
 secure as true
 Col. i. 18. death His own Body, how is He said to be *the first be-*
gotten from the dead? Hence Christ neither died nor re-
 vived. Let the Divine-uttering Paul therefore come for-
 ward, let him cry aloud saying, *If the dead are not raised,*
 1 Cor. xv. 16—18. *neither has been Christ raised, if Christ have not been raised,*
vain is your faith, ye are yet in your sins : they also which
fell asleep in Christ perished. But Christ has been raised
 from the dead, for the Only-Begotten Word of God has
 been made Man and, taking an earthly body and uniting
 Heb. ii. 9. it Personally to Him, *by the grace of God*, as it is written,
 1 Cor. xv. 20. *tasted death for every man.* He has been named *first-fruits*
of them that slept, having been raised from the dead. Sure
 Heb. vi. 19 therefore and not vain is now our faith, *which we have as an*
anchor of the soul both sure and stedfast, as it is written.

And he, as though he had in no wise wronged the plan
 of the economy with flesh, through saying such things
 and pouring forth untempered and foulest vomit upon the
 doctrines of the truth, proceeds to another mis-counsel,
 yea rather manifest blasphemy and says,

„ This man ¹ alone therefore being our High Priest, feel- BOOK III. 5.
 „ ing and kin and sure, turn ye not away from the faith
 „ Him-ward; for He was sent, the blessing which was pro-
 „ mised us out of the seed of Abraham, as offering the sa-
 „ crifice of His Body for Himself alike and His race. „

Thou sayest that a High Priest both kin to us and feel- § 5
 ing and sure and moreover only, is he whom thy discourse
 but now clearly taught us of. For thou saidst, „ The seed
 „ of Abraham is he who is *yesterday and to-day*, as Paul above p. 99.
 „ saith, not He Who saith, *Before Abraham was I am*; Heb. xiii. 8.
 „ *Like to His brethren in all things*, he who assumed brother- S. John viii. 58.
 „ hood of human soul and flesh, not He Who said, *He that* Heb. ii. 17.
 „ *hath seen Me hath seen the Father*; sent was he who is S. John xiv. 9.
 „ consubstantial with us and has been *anointed to preach* S. Luke iv. 18.
 „ *remission unto the captives and recovery of sight to the*
 „ *blind*. „ This man therefore will be conceived of as of kin
 too to those on the earth, and not as THOU sayest, He That
 saith, *He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father*. For if
 gathering both into one according to true union thou with
 us confessest One Son, thou hast laboured in vain, in
 bearing away each separately and apart from other, sever-
 ing into hypostases and persons, completely, not in the
 mere knowledge that the nature of flesh is other than the
 Divine Nature yet by concurrence unto true union hath be- see above pp. 42, 77 note z.
 come Its own: if on the other hand desiring to shew thy-
 self irreconcilable in opinion with us and utterly repudi-
 ating the union, thou sayest that He is one and another, and
 that the One has been begotten out of God the Father, the
 other of kin and consubstantial with us; how (tell me) dost
 thou say that we ought not now to turn aside from faith to
 Him-ward? and we shall believe him to be our kin, letting
 go Him Who saith, *Before Abraham was I am*: we shall take
 as our god him who assumed brotherhood with us of human
 soul and flesh, letting go Him Who saith, *He that hath*
 „ *seen Me hath seen the Father*, albeit Himself saith, *For so* S. John iii. 16.
 „ *God loved the world that He gave His Only-Begotten Son*
 „ *that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish but have*

¹ cited before council of Ephesus, from seventh quire, p. 209, Bal, &c.

AG. NEST. *everlasting life, and again, He that believeth on Him is not*
S. John iii. 18. *condemned, but he that believeth not is condemned already, because he hath not believed in the Name of the Only-Begotten Son of God. Is he therefore who is forth of the seed of Abraham conceived of as Only-Begotten apart and by him-*
Ib. i. 18. *self, albeit John hath clearly written, The Only-Begotten Son which is in the Bosom of the Father, He declared Him, and*
Heb. i. 6. *moreover another Holy Scripture, But when He bringeth in the First-begotten into the world, He saith, And let all Angels of God worship Him? But First-born wholly and surely will*
see p. 57
note z.
Rom. viii. 29. *He be Who is among many brethren, not He Who is begotten Alone of the Alone God the Father: for thus far will we follow, sir, thy distinctions, keenly awaiting for the economy's sake, whither the words burst through upon us. Hence (for I will call back the argument to its commencement) „he that assumed brotherhood with us of „human soul and flesh, „yet was made out of the seed of Abraham, will be the Firstborn among many brethren, but*
S. John i. 18. *He that is in the Bosom of God the Father, the Only-Begotten God the Word. Then when the God-inspired Scripture says that our faith must be had in the Only-Begotten Son of God, why dost thou, putting forward one kin and consubstantial with us, say that we ought not to turn away from faith in him-ward? It is therefore necessary to link together³ in One Lord and Christ, by personal coalescence⁴ that is, in order that the Same may be conceived of as Only-Begotten and First-Begotten in the Same, in that the Word out of God the Father being God by Nature has been made Man as we and out of the seed of Abraham.*

But now something clever has been found out as he thinks by him and thus again says he :

„Remember by all means what I have full often said to „you, refusing two-fold natures in our Lord Christ, two-fold in nature, single in dignity: for the sway of the „natures is for the connection's sake, one, the natures „abiding ever in their own order, but the dignity connected „as I said before unto a single sway.,,

Yea apt at learning wert thou, who hast chosen to follow BOOK III. 6.
 the God-inspired Scripture, which says One Lord Jesus § 6
 Christ and does not put apart Him Who is out of the seed
 of Abraham and the Word out of God the Father. And
 besides one must consider this too: for one thing indeed
 is Godhead, another, manhood like ours, according to the
 inherent nature of things; but by coalescence unto true
 union, One Christ out of both, as we have full often said.
 But when the hypostases, as you say, have been severed into
 two and are conceived of as existing separately and apart,
 how will there be a coalescence in one Person, except one
 be conceived of as the property ⁵ of the other: just as of a ⁵ ἰδιον
 man's soul his body will be conceived of as the property,
 albeit of other nature than it, for not the same things are
 soul and body?

But (one may perchance say) how is the Holy and Ador-
 able Trinity distinguished into Three Hypostases, yet issues
 in One Nature of Godhead? Because (I would say) the
 identity of Essence following of necessity upon the differ-
 ence of ^k, carries up the mind of believers unto One
 Nature of Godhead: but in respect to Emmanuel, since
 Godhead is something other than manhood, unless we say
 that the Body of the Word became His own by true Union,
 how will One Person be effected, when either hypostasis,
 apart by itself ⁶, brings before us the property of both? And
 except the assumed have been made the own of the assumer, ⁶ ὥς ἀνὰ
μέρος κεί-
μένης
 connection by concurrence simply in dignity alone and sway
 will not suffice to effect One Only Christ, the Same God
 Alike and Man. For then, then, in very sooth, [it will be-
 hove not ¹] to turn aside from the faith unto Himward,
 even though He be conceived of as out of the seed of Abra-
 ham after the flesh. But if you say that He is one and other
 and then affirm that our faith must be put in him that is
 out of the seed of Abraham, be well assured that you are

^k The text here gives φύσεων *natures*,
 in the MS. another hand has written
 over, ὑποστάσεων. The Roman Editors
 conjecture, προσώπων ἢ ὑποστάσεων,
Persons or Hypostases: but see Dr. New-
 man's S. Athanasius against Arians p.

155 O.T. note f.

¹ I have supplied these words from
 the expression used by S. Cyril at the
 beginning of this section. There seems
 to be an ellipse in the MS.

AG. NEST. pouring down upon your own head the charge of man-worship, albeit you repudiate and rightly the repute of being a man-worshipper.

Yea and thinking it too little to deem aright, he slanders in another way too the great Mystery of godliness. For he subjoins forthwith,

above p. 117 „, For he was sent to us, the blessing being promised
chapter 10 „, out of the seed of Abraham, offering the sacrifice of his
body for himself alike and his race. „

Ps. cvii. 42. Was Christ then Himself too made under sin? He through whom sin's mouth against us is stopped, according to the Psalmist's voice? did the darkness of accursed crime touch the Very Light Himself? needed then with us He through Whom is all redemption and hope of salvation a redeemer and Saviour? it will befit him (it seems) with us to offer thanksgiving, when God in His Clemency says, *I am He That blotteth out thy sins and I will not remember them*; him too even as we will the father of sin accuse. And then how will he not speak falsely saying, *The prince of this world cometh, and in Me he shall find nothing*? The presidents of the synagogue of the Jews once blasphemed against Him, for when they were worn out by the darts of envy, at seeing the blind from his birth in unwonted manner healed, they impiously said, *Give glory to God, WE know that this man is a sinner*, but our Lord Jesus Christ, convicting them of unbridled utterance said plainly, *Which of you convicteth Me of sin? and if I say the truth, why do YE not believe Me?* Hence, if He have offered sacrifice, both for us and moreover for Himself too, He surely hath needed it, even as we too who are under the yoke of sin: convict Him therefore of sin; if He hath offered sacrifice with us, shew Him co-sinner with us. Being the Good Shepherd, for whom hath He laid down His Life, for Himself rather or for the sheep? I hear Him saying of us, *For their sakes do I sanctify Myself*, and as the Divine-speaking Paul saith, *By the grace of God for every man tasted He death*, and again, *He was delivered up because of our transgressions and was raised because of our justifica-*

tion, and as the Prophet Esaias saith, *The chastisement of* Book iii. 6.
our peace was upon Him, with His stripes we were healed, not Isa. liii. 5.
Himself has been healed by the suffering of His own Flesh.
He was delivered up because of our transgressions (not be-
cause of His own, far from it, for confessedly has the na-
ture of man been borne down by the transgression in Adam
unto curse and death, it is moreover sick of proneness to
sin in the flesh), in order *that the righteousness of the Law* Rom. viii. 4.
might be fulfilled in us who walk not after the flesh but after
the spirit. For therefore was He also named *the last Adam,* 1 Cor. xv. 45.
not enduring to be sick of the things of the first one, but
rather ridding in Himself first the nature of man from the
blame of that ancient transgression. For it was condemned
in Adam, but in Christ was seen most approved and worthy
of wonder. Earthy therefore is he, but Christ heavenly.
And it was put to shame in the first, borne down to dis-
obedience which is sin, but in Christ hath it preserved
untransgression⁷, and as in a second firstfruits of the
race, was seen both unwounded by sins, and superior to
curse and doom and death and decay. And the most wise
Paul confirms us herein, thus writing, *For as through one* Rom. v. 19.
man's disobedience the many were made sinners, so too by
its obedience of one shall the many be made righteous. Every
one who has become guilty of sin needs therefore sacrifice
for his own transgressions: and Christ hath offered Him-
self for His kin according to the flesh, i. e., for us; but for
Himself not a whit, being superior to sin, as God. For if
He have been sacrificed for Himself, not we alone have been
bought by His Blood according to the Scriptures but
Himself too will have been co-bought with us, no longer
according to Isaiah's voice *did the Lord give Him up for* Isa. liii. 6.
our sins, but He has been given rather for His own. For LXX.
where is at all sacrifice and offering, there surely is also re-
mission of sins. The Divine-uttering Paul therefore hath
beguiled those throughout all under heaven by writing
regarding Him, *For such an High Priest became us, holy* Heb. vii. 26—28.
harmless undefiled, separated from sinners and made higher
than the heavens, Who needeth not daily as the high priests to

AG. NEST. offer up sacrifice, first for his own sins then for the people's, for this He did once when He offered up Himself: for the Law maketh men high priests which have infirmity, but the word of the oath which was since the Law, the Son Who hath been perfected for evermore. How therefore is Christ an holy High Priest? or in what way harmless⁸ and undefiled? And if He need with us sacrifice, having made His offering for remission of transgressions and for justification of them that have sinned, how has He been separated from sinners, if He be justified along with them, the sacrifice having been offered for none else than these very persons⁹? But I marvel that whereas Paul hath cried aloud and that full clearly that He is not like those who have been bidden to offer for their own transgressions, and then for the people's, thou wert not afraid to put forth the contrary to what he said, and durst say that after the likeness of them who were made priests according to the Law, He too offered up sacrifice for Himself. And if it be true that the Law maketh men High Priests which have infirmity, but the word of the oath which was since the Law, the Son Who hath been perfected for evermore, why makest thou connumerate with those who are used to infirmity Him Who has been removed from their multitude, and possesses the perfection which is above the Law, of His own and by Nature, if so be He be Son of a truth and therefore God?

⁸ ἄκακος,
unknown-
ing of ill

⁹ i.e. sin-
ners

But let us see from the legal and more ancient scripture too in what manner and for whom, Emmanuel hath offered Himself for an odour of a sweet smell unto God the Father. For a shadow confessedly was the Law, yet hath it the outline¹ of the mystery Christ-ward and travails with the form of the Truth. And indeed Christ said somewhere when conversing with the Jews, *Had ye believed Moses ye would have believed Me, for of Me he wrote.* How therefore did they of the blood of Israel when about to depart out of the Land of the Egyptians sacrifice the Lamb? for their own selves alone or for the Lamb's sake too? whom did it redeem by its blood? was it them who were under the

¹ ὑποτύ-
πωσιν

S John
v. 46.

yoke of bondage, and were enduring the oppression hard to bear of the Egyptians, or itself too? whose destroyer did it scare away? to whom said the God of all, *And I will see the blood and will shelter you?* was it to those who needed His shelter or to the Lamb itself too?

BOOK III. G.
Exod. xii.
13.

For God the Father was representing² the sacrifices that were to be made for sins, in the Law as on a tablet, outlining³ yet the mystery of Christ, and thus He said to the hierophant Moses, *If the whole congregation of the children of Israel sin unwillingly and the thing be hid from the eyes of the assembly and they have done one of all the commandments of the Lord which should not be done, and have transgressed and the sin be known to them which they have sinned therein, the congregation shall offer a young bullock without blemish from among the herd for the sin. And having fully gone through how the details of the sacrifice should be done, He adds and says, And the priest shall make an atonement for them and the sin shall be forgiven them.* Observe then that the bullock was offered as a type of Christ the All-Pure and That hath no spot, and they who offer and not surely the bullock were set free from their guilt. For He has been sacrificed not rather for Himself, as THOU sayest, but for the infirm, for whom the high priest according to the Law used to make supplication, that you may again understand Him That was made an Advocate for us, a High Priest undefiled and holy, separated from sinners.

² διετύ-
που

³ σκια-
γραφῶν
Lev. iv.
13, 14.

Ib. 20.

Heb. vii.
26.

Since therefore our opponent is on all sides sick of uncomeliness of speech, we say that the Word out of God the Father was made the High Priest and Apostle of our confession when He was made Man, abasing Himself unto emptiness and in our condition: in order that having offered Himself to the Father for an odour of sweet smell in behalf of all, He might win all under Heaven, might remove the ancient guilt, might justify by grace through faith, might render superior to death and decay, holy and hallowed

AG. NEST. and full well versed in every kind of virtue, confessing Him their Saviour and Redeemer, through Whom and with Whom to God the Father be glory with the Holy Ghost for evermore. Amen.

Type of the brazen serpent.

TOME IV.

Brazen serpent a type: how to be cured of the stings. In HOLY TRINITY Each Person exists yet each work is the work of the Whole TRINITY. Meaning of "Made flesh." Christ gives the SPIRIT as His own, and works as God through His own SPIRIT. Nicene Fathers spake through the HOLY GHOST. „ Commended. „ The HOLY GHOST Spirit of the Truth, i. e., of CHRIST. All Divine Work work of Whole TRINITY. HOLY GHOST out of the FATHER and the Own of the SON. S. John xvii. 1. Flesh of CHRIST quickens in the Eucharist, because it is the flesh of the WORD. Its type the Lamb, its mode a mystery. Nestorius confessed that Godhead and manhood belong to the Same, and contradicts himself: yet the Eucharist does quicken us: and He is Man having remained God. No one taught confusion of Person in Christ.

THE Divine-uttering Paul, shewing that not ineffective for the profit of those who have elected to live piously, is the shadow in the Law and besides full well setting before the minds of all, as a picture and representation of the truer, the things which long ago befell them of old, says, *But these things happened unto them typically, but were* ^{1 Cor. x. 11.} *written for our admonition unto whom the ends of the world are come.* Come now therefore selecting out of the writings of the Law let us say, that they of Israel were camping in the desert of old time when they departed out of the land of the Egyptians and were speeding unto the Land of Promise: but when (wretched ones!) unmindful of the wonders in Egypt and of their love to Godward, they began unholily to murmur, they *were destroyed of serpents*, as it is ^{Ib. 9.} written. Yet they escaped the bites of the venomous creatures, Moses having reared up for them the brazen Serpent, God the Saviour of all having commanded, *Make thee* ^{Nim. xxi. 8.} *a serpent and set it for a sign and it shall be, if a serpent have bitten a man, that every one that is bitten, seeing it shall live.* The figure then was the mystery Christ-ward, ^{see Schol. § 15} for the Only-Begotten Word of God being God, and Good

AG. NEST. by Nature out of a Good Father, partook of flesh and blood, i. e., was made man, and like unto us wicked ones, in regard I mean that He is man as we. And He has been set up on high too, that is, He endured the cross on the wood and death after the flesh, even though He rose again the third day having trampled on the might of death.

When therefore of exceeding great lack of understanding murmuring against the economy with flesh and charging it with uncomeliness, we are ashamed to think or say that the Word of God became Man as we and was united to flesh in verity, then will the dragon, the prince of evil, slay us, infusing into our minds error, as it were the venom of his own perverseness: yet shall we escape and repel the damage of his crookedness, if with the eyes of our heart we look on the serpent, that is, if we consider with accurate mind the mystery of Christ. For then, then, deeming right shall we confess unhesitatingly that the Word of God has been made flesh, and proceeded forth of a woman along with remaining God, and is the Same God alike and Man, neither shaming of the measures of the human nature by reason of the Dignity of the Excellence¹, nor yet reft of His God-befitting Authority and Supreme Glory on account of the human nature. And they who are used full well to discern such things, clearly and by accurate scrutiny² understanding through both the one, and the Mystery regarding Him, say, *O the depth of the riches and wisdom and knowledge of God, how unsearchable His judgements and His ways not to be tracked; for who knew the mind of the Lord?*

¹ ὑπερο-
χῆς

² ἐξητα-
σμένως
Rom. xi.
33, 34.

chapter 9

Yet doth somehow this man thrusting away these things as impossible and uncomely, dare to make no small accusal against the glory and excellence of our Saviour, and allotting to Him our measure and nought else, says that He has been glorified by the Holy Ghost, not using as His own Power, that through Him to work signs^a, but gaining from without and introduced, the power of achieving ought

^a The present text has καὶ πληροῦν τὰ τῆς θεοσημίας; perhaps it should be καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβόντα τὸ ἐνεργεῖν δύνασθαι καὶ πληροῦν τὰ τῆς θ. (from chapter 9).

miraculous, that He may appear as we the recipient of a gift haply of healing, and be bound to say with blessed Paul, *By the Grace of God I am what I am.* For to whom being and being able to achieve ought is imported and from without, these will with reason utter such word as this.

For he desiring (as he thinks) to prove the Holy Trinity equal in operation unto all things, says again thus ;

„ *God the Word was made Flesh and tabernacled in us.*
 „ The Father co-seated with Himself the manhood which
 „ was assumed : for (it saith) *The Lord said unto my Lord,* Ps. cx. 1.
 „ *Sit Thou on My Right Hand ;* the Spirit descending con- ³συνεκρό-
 „ summated ³ the glory of that which was assumed, for *when* S. John
 „ (He saith) *the Spirit of Truth is come, He shall glorify* xvi. 13,
 „ *Me.* Desirest thou also another operation of the Trinity in 14.
 „ respect of these very things ? The Son indwelt in the
 „ body, the Father commended Him when baptized, the
 „ Spirit fashioned him in the Virgin. „ Then again he says
 „ of the holy Apostles, „ The Son chose them out, for I Ib. xv.
 „ (He says) *chose you forth ;* the Father sanctified, for (He 16.
 „ says) *Father, sanctify them in Thy Truth,* the Spirit ren- Ib. xvii.
 „ dered them orators ⁴. 17.
 „ ⁴ ῥήτορας

That his whole discourse has been framed both unwisely and unhappily, is full easy to shew. And in this too he wanders, and how, I will say. For One indeed is the Nature of the Godhead, but the Father exists in His Proper mode ^b

^b “ Thus is there One God, the Holy Trinity by sameness of Nature speeding unto one Godhead, even though in the giving of Names and conceived of in Proper Existence only, It fitly admit the number Three.” *Thes. cap. 32 pp. 311 fin. 312.* “ *He shall glorify Me, for He shall receive of Mine and shall tell it unto you ;* for being the Spirit of Truth He will enlighten them in whom He is, and will lead them unto the apprehension of the Truth. And this we say, not as severing into diversity and making wholly separate, either the Father from the Son, or the Son from the Father, nor yet the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son, but (since One Godhead truly is, and is thus preached as viewed in the Holy and Consubstantial Trinity), de-

fining the Acts belonging to Each and which seem to be attributed to Them severally, to be the Will and Operation of the Whole Godhead. For the Divine and Unsevered Nature will work through Itself, in no divided way, so far as pertains to the one count of Godhead, although Each hath Personal Existence: for the Father is What He is, and the Son likewise, and the Holy Ghost.” On S. John vi. 45 p. 402 O. T. add in S. Johannem p. 784 a. S. Cyril further speaks of the Incarnation as the act of the Whole HOLY TRINITY. “ But He says that He was Incarnate by the Father, although Solomon says, *Wisdom builded her an house :* and the blessed Gabriel attributeth the creation of the Divine Body to the Operation of the Spirit,

AG. NEST. and the Son too and likewise the Spirit: yet are all things wrought by the Father and through the Son in the Spirit, and when the Father is (so to say) moved to ought, yet does the Son surely work in the Spirit; and though the Son or the Spirit be said to fulfil ought, this is full surely
 5 ἐκ of⁵ the Father: and through the whole Holy and Consubstantial Trinity runs the Operation alike and Will unto everything.

On this subject we say thus. But view again how clearly and evidently, although he says that the Word out of God
 6 παραση- has been made Flesh, he mis-coins⁶ the force of the ideas, *μαίνει*,
 as pp. 13, and bears it far away from rightness, representing the Incarnation as an operation of His: for he adds forthwith,
 25 „wilt thou another operation of the Trinity besides these? „ as though he had already shewn the first operation of God the Word, His being made Flesh according to the Scriptures. And what is the other after the first operation, he shews as he supposes. He says, „The Son indwelt in the
 7 θεοφόρος „body: „, a God-clad⁷ man therefore is Christ. Next the Word of God the Father is shewn operating this alone for man: so that even though the blessed Evangelist say,
 S. John i. 14. *The Word was made Flesh and tabernacled in us*^c, it indicates nothing else to us but just this alone, that the Word being God dwelt in a man just as in ourselves too. For
 2 Cor. vi. 16. we are *temples of the living God*, and *herein know we that*
 1 S. John iv. 13. *He is in us because He gave us of His Spirit*. But thou wilt not (I suppose) say this, shuddering at the blasphemy, but wilt confess with us, that the Word of God has been made Man (and this is the Incarnation): and wilt agree that He hath remained God, and kept the Beauty of His

when he was speaking with the holy Virgin (for *The Holy Ghost*, he says, *shall come upon thee, and the Power of the most Highest shall overshadow thee*) that thou mayest again understand, that the God-head being by Nature One, conceived of both in the Father and the Son and in the Holy Ghost, not severally will Each in-work as to ought of things that are, but whatever is said to be done by One, this is wholly the work of the whole Divine Nature.” Ib. on vi. 57 pp. 424, 425 O. T.

^c *The Word was made flesh and tabernacled in (or among) us*. The Easterns in their great dread of Apollinarianism, suspected S. Cyril of pressing S. John's earlier words (*σὰρξ ἐγένετο*) to mean, was turned into flesh (see p. 44 note e): Nestorius on his side would seem to have rested his, the Divine Nature not entering, during change into flesh but inhabitation in man, (pp. 28, 30) in part on the words, *tabernacled in us*. S. Cyril gives two most carefully-weighed expositions of the verse at pp. 4, 5 and 35.

proper Nature, even though He have the name, Son of BOOK IV. I. Man, and have been made so of a truth. What then didst thou learn, and say that the Father co-seated with Himself the manhood that was assumed, and not rather that there sitteth on the Throne of His proper Godhead, in the Good-Pleasure of God the Father, the Word That sprang from Him, when made Man too : in order that His Human Nature be not conceived and spoken of by us as something other than He, albeit the union that is of truth ⁸ τῆς κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ἐνώσεως shews us that He is One and that His Flesh is not alien from Him ?

In this too thou wilt therefore be caught speaking falsely and in no slight degree erring from fit reasoning. And if to say that the Word has been made Flesh is nought else see pp. 8, 35 than that He being in the Excellence of Godhead and abiding what He was, hath become Man, what glory from without will He be in need of, Himself the Lord of Glory ? For confessedly was He being glorified, the Spirit working see On the clause pp. 134, sq. Divine signs ; yet not as a God-clad man, gaining this thing from an alien and superior Nature, even as do we, but rather as using of His own Spirit : for He was God by Nature and not alien to Him is His Spirit. Hence we say that not from without nor by adoption has the operation of the Spirit been given to Him, even as unto us, or to the holy Apostles : for to them hath Christ given *authority* S. Matt. x. 1. *over unclean spirits to cast them out*, and commanded them *to heal both every sickness and every ailment in the people*.

From within ⁹ therefore and from ¹ Himself is His Spirit. ⁹ οἶκοθεν ¹ παρ' And an evident demonstration of this will be His being able to supply It to others too and *not of measure*, as the blessed Evangelist saith. For the God of all measured to the saints the grace through the Spirit, and to one He S. John iii. 34. see above p. 56 gave the *word of wisdom*, to another the *word of knowledge*, 1 Cor. xii. 8. to another, *gifts of healing* : and this I think is that those Ib. 9. who have the operation have power of *measure* : but our Lord Jesus Christ, putting forth the Spirit out of His own fulness, even as doth the Father Himself, gives It *not as of measure* to those who are worthy to receive It. Why

AG. NEST. then, most excellent sir, dost thou make Him Who giveth the Spirit *not of measure*, connumerate with those who have
² συγκε- It in measure, saying that His glory has been cemented²
 κροτήσθαι by the Spirit and that He has been operated on, like one
³ συγκε- of us, receiving as a grace support³ from Him, rather than
 τήσιν, working Divine signs through His own Spirit.
 consolida-
 tion

For the all-daring Jews, whetting against Him a bitter
 S. Matt. tongue, unholily said, *This man casteth not out devils save*
 xii. 24. *in Beelzebub the prince of the devils*; but our Lord Jesus
 Christ convicting them of no small folly yea rather of impiety, says, *If I in Beelzebub, prince of devils, cast out devils,*
 Ib. 27. *by whom do your sons cast them out?* for the glorious and
 Acts iv. mighty choir of the holy Apostles, performing miracles *in*
 10. *the Name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth*, is marvelled at: and
 S. Luke of a truth they returned rejoicing and saying, *Lord even the*
 x. 17. *devils are subject to us in Thy Name.* But if it be possible
 that in the name of any one of those operated on, others
 too should avail to accomplish the like, let him come, let
 him tell us why no one is marvelled at for rebuking un-
 clean spirits or having accomplished ought else that passes
 reason, in the name of any saint.

But *they* are operated upon by the Spirit and have a
 measured grace, *He*, as God in-worketh, and through His
 own Spirit achieveth without toil the things whereby He
 is marvelled at. And verily the woman who was sick of
 the issue of blood came one time secretly behind Him (thus
 Ib. viii. is it written) *and touched the border of His garment and im-*
 44. *mediately her issue of blood stanch'd*, which Christ now
 Ib. 45. understanding, says *Who touched Me?* and when at this
 the Divine-speaking disciples said, *Master, the multitude*
 Ib. 46. *are thronging Thee and pressing Thee*, He said again, *Some-*
body touched Me, for I know that might went forth of Me.
 Understandest thou then that not as introduced from with-
 out, but from within and out of Himself hath He the power
 to inwork and to free from weaknesses?

And the blessed Evangelist Matthew too somewhere
 Ib. vi. 19. writeth, *And the whole multitude were seeking to touch Him,*
for there went might out of Him and healed all. His might

then is His Spirit, and the Divine-uttering David will give book iv.2. us proof, saying, *By the Word of the Lord were the Heavens* Ps. xxxiii. 6. *stablished and by the Spirit of His Mouth all their might.* The *Mouth* of God the Father he says is the Word That is out of Him, by Whose Spirit the things made through Him, are stablished in being. I have now therefore said that he brings down to nothing the Mystery of Godliness, which has been marvelled at by the holy Angels themselves too, and recking nought of the dogmas that pertain unto truth, he makes light of them saying, „ Wilt thou another operation of the Trinity besides these? the Son dwelt in the „ body, the Father commended him when baptized, the „ Spirit fashioned him in the Virgin.,, And that the truth will follow surely upon the things which we have said, and that we have made no mere condemnation of his words, but rather a clear and true conviction of them, himself will shew saying elsewhere on this wise,

„ And the proof of co-work is evident, The Son became „ man, the Father enthroned Him, the Spirit honoured Him „ by signs,

Will any one doubt even after this that the aim of his ideas looks to unlearning alike and unholiness, and is bold against the doctrines of piety? for like as he unwisely casts forth the Word of God from being made Flesh and says that He wrought an indwelling in man, so too again does he take the being made man, albeit the holy Churches in every region under Heaven, and the venerable Fathers themselves who put forth unto us the definition of the right and undefiled Faith, viz. (the Holy Ghost speaking in them) that the Word of God was made flesh and became Man, conceiving that this is nought else save only the being made man as we, and being born after the flesh of a woman, because He hath also been made with us under the Law, Who as God is above the Law. § 2

But since (as I have already full often said) his aim is to undo the Truth, therefore he alone (and that strenuously) lifts himself up, and opposes the opinions of all,

AG. NEST. and brandishes arms against the Ineffable glory, and what he alone thinks, endeavours to bring in secretly as a kind of rubbish ⁴ upon the churches of God: for he maintains that the Incarnation is indwelling, and not rather that the Word out of God partook like us of blood and flesh, albeit the Word hath indwelt and indwells yet in all the saints, but has once been made as we, and has partaken Personally in a single flesh, wherein He is believed both to have died and to have risen for us: for of His own will He suffered in the flesh.

⁴ συρφέ-
τον

But that to no purpose is he flinging about words, and recking little of the absurdity of his language, says that Christ was ennobled by signs through the Spirit, the words which have been just cited, sufficiently (as I think) shewed: but let us examine, if you please, his other words. ,The , Father (he says) commended; , what then *commended* here is, I cannot understand: for the word is confessedly a word of the market and the mob, and replete with commonplace trickery ^a; but I suppose that he wanted to indicate, *set forth*, for example, or, *hath witnessed to*. How then (tell me) did the Father commend? did He exhibit one counted worthy of Divine Indwelling? or was it not this at all, but rather His own Son made man, yet abiding even in Flesh, what He was and is and shall be, i. e. God? Heb. xiii. 8. For *Jesus Christ Who was yesterday and to-day is the Same even for ever*.

Come then, let us examine what is spoken of Him. S. John i. 32—34. What says the Evangelist? *And John bare record, saying, I have seen the Spirit descending from Heaven like a dove, . . . ^e and abiding upon Him, This is He That baptizeth with the Holy Ghost: and I have seen and testified that This is the Son of God*. For our Lord Jesus Christ was about to sanctify economically the Jordan, and deigned with us

^a ἀγοράα τε καὶ ἀγυρῶδης καὶ τερ-
θρας ἰδιωτικῆς ἀνάμεστος

^e Thus the MS., omitting the intermediate part, ver. 32 and most of 33. Omissions of this sort are not uncommon, even in good MSS., while the frequent citation of these verses by S. Cyril, together with the sense, shew

that the omission is a slip of some transcriber. The omission seems to indicate that as in other places so here too S. Cyril read *from Heaven* in verse 33 also and so that the omission took place through the eye of the scribe wandering from the words *from heaven* in verse 32 to those same words in verse 33.

to be baptized, ordering the Mystery of the Economy BOOK iv.2. with flesh through the ways that beseech it: for it was necessary that the Word out of God the Father should be known to have been made Man. Yet was He baptized as Man, He baptized Divinely in the Holy Ghost. And we do not say that He ministered the participation of the Holy Ghost to the baptized either as a servant or by means of any other, but hallowed them, Himself infusing into them *out of His own Fulness* as God by Nature. How then dost thou, disregarding words alike and thoughts that belong to rightness, say that indwelling in man was wrought by God the Word; albeit whereas very many saints have had the God of all indwelling in them, none of them baptized with his own spirit or has been said to indwell Divinely in any and has so indwelt? and Christ Himself dwells in us through the Holy Ghost, Which is His own too, even as God the Father's. And this Himself ratifies to us saying, *But when the Comforter is come, Whom I will send unto you from the Father, the Spirit of the Truth, Which proceedeth from the Father, He shall testify of Me.* see below Schol. § 36; above p. 109 S. John xv. 26.

See then how He says that the Spirit Which proceedeth from God the Father is the own Spirit of the Truth also: and He Himself is of a surety the Truth. How then, if He be of a truth not rather God made man, but man having the Divine Indwelling as His Energy, doth He promise to send down, as His own, the Spirit of God the Father upon them who believe on Him? Yea, as I said, he shakes to nothing the glory of the Mystery, distributing the operation of the Holy Trinity in respect of the things done, and allotting to each of the Persons by Himself what the other hath not wrought.

Again he says on this wise, „The Son chose forth, for „I, He says, chose you: the Father sanctified, the Spirit ib. 16. „made orators.„ O distraction without measure! if all things have been done by the Father through the Son in the Spirit and nothing be done by God the Father, save in this very way;—how is he not surely distraught, who distributes to the Persons severally the Operations unto

AG. NEST. ought of the Untaint and One Godhead, and doth not rather maintain that each thing that is done has been wrought by the Father through the Son in the Spirit? For if the Son is both the Counsel and Wisdom and Might of the Father, full surely will the Father work all things through the Son, as through His Counsel and Wisdom and Might. Thus chose He for their excellence His disciples, thus do we say that those who were chosen out were sanctified, thus that they were made orators, from out One Godhead, that is, by the Father through the Son in the Spirit. For He says, *Holy Father, sanctify them in Thy Truth.* The Truth therefore sanctifies, i. e. the Son; He infuses^f too and renders them wise and through the operation of the Holy Ghost, devoutly⁵ eloquent. And verily He said in the book of Matthew to His own Disciples, *When they deliver you up take no thought how or what ye shall speak, for it shall be given you in that hour what ye shall speak, for not YE are the speakers, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you;* and through that of Luke, *Settle it therefore in your hearts not to meditate before what ye shall answer, for I will give you a mouth and wisdom which all your adversaries shall not be able to gainsay or resist.* Hearest thou how when the Holy Ghost *speaketh* in them, Himself *gives* the mouth? For He is as Word Giver of word and Bestower of the Spirit, as having It as His own Naturally, even as the Father Himself too. The Holy Trinity has therefore the same Operation, and whatsoever things the Father doth and willeth to accomplish, these things doth the Son too in equal manner, likewise the Spirit also. But the giving of the Operations severally to Each of the Persons individually is nought else than to set forth three gods severally and wholly distinct from one another. For the count⁶ of Natural Unity in regard to the Holy Trinity, shews I suppose one motion⁷ unto every thing that is done. But if now we say that while One Person is moved, e. g., to work, the Two remain ineffective, how is not a gross severance privily introduced,

S. John
xvii. 17.

⁵ θεοφι-
λῶς

S. Matt.
x. 19, 20.

S. Luke
xxi. 14,
15.

⁶ λόγος

⁷ κίνησιν

^f There appears to be an omission here: the Roman Editors conjecture that τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα may be to be supplied.

allotting as a certain position to each Person, the being conceived of external to and isolated from the rest, not in respect of His Individual Being (for that were true), but in respect of utter diversity⁸ which does not endure language that gathers them into Natural Union? For One Nature of Godhead is conceived of in the Holy and Consubstantial Trinity⁹.

BOOK IV. 3.
see above
p. 127,
note b.
⁸ ἑτερό-
τητι

But this good man dares to abridge⁹ God the Word Cons substantial with God the Father as though he knows not that He has been made Man, not casting away what He was, but assuming rather what He was not: for he is an advocate for¹ (as has been said) the Holy Ghost and insults the Son, thus saying to some who have elected to think with Arius,

⁹ κατασμι-
κρύνειν

¹ συναγο-
ρεύει,
see above
p. 70

„ They^h (he says) contriving greater insult against Him,
„ and severing from the Divine Nature the Spirit Which
„ having formed His Human Nature (*for that*, it says, *which*
„ *is conceived in Mary is of the Holy Ghost*), reformed unto
„ righteousness that which was formed (for *He was mani-*
„ *fested*, it says, *in flesh, was made righteous in Spirit*),
„ Which made Him terrible to devils (for *I*, He says, *in the*
„ *Spirit of God cast out devils*) ; Which made His Flesh a
„ Temple (for *I saw*, it says, *the Spirit descending from*
„ *Heaven like a dove and it abode upon Him*) ; Which grant-
„ ed Him to be taken up (for, it says, *having given com-*
„ *mandment to the holy Apostles whom He chose forth, He*
„ *was taken up through the Holy Ghost*) : This I say which
„ bestowed on Christ so great glory they make Christ's
„ bondman.,

S. Matt.
i. 20.

1 Tim.
iii. 16.

S. Matt.
xii. 28.

S. John
i. 32.

Acts i. 2.

The daring then to sever the Spirit from the Divine § 3

g “ Following the faith of the holy Fathers we say that the SON was in God-befitting and Ineffable way truly begotten out of the Essence of God the Father, and that He is conceived of in His Proper Hypostasis, yet is united in Identity of Essence with Him Who begat Him, and is in Him and hath again the Father in Himself. And we confess that He is Light out of Light, God out of God by Nature, Equal in glory and

in work, Impress and Radiance and in all Equal, in nought minished. For thus, the Holy Ghost being counted besides, the Holy and Consubstantial Trinity is united in One Nature of Godhead.” Ep. 1 to Monks p. 6 b.

^h This is given by Mercator with the heading, *Also from the second volume quire 2 as though against the Arians and Macedonians.* p. 118 Bal.

AG. NEST. and Untaint Nature, is (I assent) the part of a bad and sinful mind and one far removed from what is fit (for He is Consubstantial with God the Father, and moreover with the Son Himself and is believed to be God and out of God): but I think that we should, letting this be for the present, examine the words before us and with all attention see whither they look. For says he „Doing a greater „insult against Him (i. e., the Word out of God the Father) „and severing from the Divine Nature the Spirit Which „formed His Human Nature.,, Whose Human Nature, most excellent sir, sayest thou has been formed through the Spirit? albeit thou hadst but now made discourse to us about the Only-Begotten Himself Who was begotten Ineffably out of God the Father; for thou wert calling Him „Divine Nature, „and His I suppose and none else's you say the Human Nature is. Therefore call to mind thine own words, for thou saidst it was the own Flesh of the Word, i. e., with a reasonable soul therein, for thus will the manhood be His. Then how, if the Word out of God the Father be One with His own Flesh, dost thou suppose that he lacks God-befitting Might and that the Holy Ghost made him terrible to devils, as though he could not do this of his own nature? and again the being able to crush Satan, as by the gift of another and hardly borrowed²?

² ἐρανιζόμενον

³ προῦδν

If then thou knowest that to sever the Spirit from His Divine Nature is (and justly) the most disgraceful of charges, His (it is manifest) is the Spirit, as proceeding³ through His Ineffable Nature Itself and Cons substantial with Him, and He will not need the might that is from It as something external and adventitious, but will use Him rather as His own Spirit, and will render Himself terrible to the devils through Him. But if it seem good to thee to shew that they who sever are unimplicated in charges of impiety, how didst thou just now call them to us insolent? and how dost thou not perceive that thou art numbering thyself with them, if thou sayest that the Word out of God the Father united to flesh, needed just like any of ours and a mere man, the aid of the Spirit that He might

be terrible to the unclean spirits? For even though He BOOK iv.3. say that He casts out devils in the Spirit of God, how must one not see that the economy of the expression is worthy of marvel? For the chiefs of the Jews, envious of the renown of our Saviour and opening against Him an unbarred⁴ mouth, used to babble (miserable ones!) saying⁴ ἀπύ-
λωτον
 that He cast out devils in Beelzebub prince of the devils: S. Luke xi. 20. but He with His innate clemency toward all, drawing unto what was better and true those who have erred or who were choosing to let loose their tongues upon Him, was attributing rather to God Who is by Nature, the glory of being able to crush Satan, saying that in the Spirit of God He chased away the wicked spirits: and not as putting Himself outside of being God by Nature and of having the Holy Ghost as His own: but since it was meet and worthy of God-befitting skill to intercept the wrath⁵ of⁵ εὐτε-
χνίας
 those who were desiring His death and to cut off occasions from those who were offended at Him, for they were attacking Him saying, *For a good work we stone Thee not but for blasphemy, because THOU, being a man, makest Thyself God:* S. John x. 33. therefore skilfully does He condescending to them who were yet weak say, *the Spirit of God:* for He knows, as I said, that He is God by Nature together with Him Who begot Him, and has all things of His, save only the being Father. Wherefore did He also say to Him, *All Mine are* Ib. xvii. 10. *Thine and Thine Mine and I have been glorified in them,* and to ourselves making discourse concerning the Holy Ghost, He says, *All things that the Father hath are Mine, therefore* Ib. xvi. 15. *I said unto you that of Mine shall He take and declare it unto you.* For as the Holy Ghost proceedeth⁶ out of the Father⁶ πρόεισιν being His by Nature, in equal wise is He through the Son Himself too, His Naturally and Consubstantial with Him. Hence even though He be glorified through the Spirit, yet is He conceived of as glorifying Himself through His own Spirit, and not as though it came to Him from without even though He be seen as made Man like us.

It is besides unsafe to say this also concerning the Spirit, „ Which hath made His Flesh a Temple. „ For it was the

AG. NEST. own Flesh of the Word, and this thyself has just now acknowledged to us, for thou saidst that His is the human nature, and the Holy Body taken out of the holy Virgin is called His Temple: His own again is His Spirit, and never will the Word out of God the Father be conceived of without His own Spirit. Better therefore were it and wiser to say that the Body is the Temple of the Word and the flesh His own, and to believe that with the Word is ever His Spirit, just as also with the Father Himself too.

Not without blame moreover would I say that is his saying that Assumption into Heaven has been given Him by the Spirit as to a mere man. For He chose His Disciples
 Acts i. 2. *through the Holy Ghost, He was taken up* as God, not receiving this as a gift from Another; but Himself rather as a first-fruit of the human nature renewed unto immortality
 Heb. x. presentingⁱ Himself to God the Father and consecrating
 20. *for us a new and living way* and that entereth into the inner
 Ib. vi. 19, 20. *part of the veil, whither the forerunner* is said to have entered in our behalf, after the order of Melchisedech made an High Priest for ever. But that when Christ ascended above, the Holy Ghost was in Him as His own, none will doubt. How then didst thou not fear (tell me) to say that „ This Which „ gave this so great glory to Christ, they make Christ's „ bondman? „ For they who make Him Christ's bondman are confessedly impious and dishonour the Very Word Who is Consubstantial with God Himself, arraying in slave-befitting measures the Spirit Which is of⁷ Him and in Him by Nature and His own: but the saying that the glory was given Him by the Spirit, is a manifest proof of the uttermost infatuation.

7 παρ'

But you will be caught idly babbling herein, and not understanding the Mystery to Him-ward, yea rather both thinking and saying clean contrary to yourself. For if thou hast believed that the Word being God has been made Flesh (for thou saidst that His was the human nature) why dost thou say that the Lord of glory, as though He had not

ⁱ ἐμφανίσων, with a reference to νῦν ἐμφανισθῆναι τῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ θεοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν in Heb. ix. 24.

glory of His own, needed it from the Spirit, and reckon- BOOK iv. 3.
 est Him in the measures of the creature to which all things
 are from without and given? for *what hast thou that thou* 1 Cor. iv. 7.
receivedst not, will it befit the creature to hear.

Yea but (he says) I find Emmanuel saying, *Father*, S. John xvii. 1.
glorify Thy Son: add therefore what remains; this is,
That Thy Son too may glorify Thee. If thou assert that
 the Son, as lacking glory, desires that of the Father, what
 dost thou say, when the Father too is glorified of the Son?
 is it as not having glory or needing it of another? away
 with the mis-counsel! for verily is it trickery and unholy
 thought and nought else. For the Divine Nature and that
 passeth all natures *dwelleth in the light unapproachable* and 1 Tim. vi. 16.
 hath authority over all things and to Him is ascribed the
 glory which most befits it alone: but when the Only-Begotten
 Word of God was made man and was about *by the* Heb. ii. 9.
grace of God through His own flesh to *taste death for every*
man, and undo its might hard-to-withstand, quickening as
 God His own Temple, He devises the prayer as Man, and
 wills the Father to consent with Him Who was transform-
 ing the nature of man to what it was at the beginning and
 renewing it unto incorruption, and displaying it superior
 to the meshes of death: that ancient curse and the sen-
 tence upon the First-formed being undone.

Hence since visible in flesh, He is preached Son of God
 by Nature and in truth, He says, *Father glorify Thy Son*,
 rendering Him as Man, superior to both death and decay,
 that He may be believed to be Thine, being as God Life
 by Nature, according to the count ^s of His own Nature: ^s λόγον
 for then will the Son too glorify Thee. Glory truly is it
 to God the Father that it be believed by us, that He, Very
 God and Life and Life-giving, begat equal and like to see above pp. 74, 75.
 Himself in everything, ineffably and beyond understanding,
 the Son, Who was in no lesser state, even though ^k He
 have been made in flesh, but preserved wholly unimpaired
 the Supernatural and Choice Beauty of His inherent Na-
 tural Nobility ⁹, being Himself too Life as out of Life, and 9 εὐγενείας

^k I have supplied εἰ translating εἰ καὶ. The edition gives καὶ.

AG. NEST. all-availing and achieving without toil and bestowing incorruption on those subject to death and decay.

Hence even though the Son be said to be glorified by the Father, consider the measure of the human nature, sever not into two [after the Union] the One Christ and Son and Lord, but confess One and the Same, God made Man¹, and the Same in like manner Lord of glory as God, and recipient of glory in His Human Nature. For consider that, albeit by Nature and in verity God and King of all and Lord, He is said to have been *set King*, when, made man as we, He hath humbled Himself and been made obedient to God the Father and with us under the Law. In no wise therefore will the things that pertain to the measures of the emptiness trouble the wise and understanding and settled in the faith; but from them alike and from the things that befit the Divine Nature, do they acknowledge the Son, the Same God and Man.

But he comes not forward with sound words, but having swerved exceedingly to what is unruly, he busies himself^m without understanding, and deems fit to hold what please himself alone and what he thinks well to deem are understood aright. And he destroys others too, in addition to to what he has said severing into two the One Lord Jesus Christ, calumniating also our Divine Mystery itself from not enduring to confess with us, that not like one of the holy Prophets, or again Apostles and Evangelists, was Christ a God-clad man, but God rather made Man, and hath partaken in verity of blood and flesh. He said in this wise again, putting forth his words as of the Person of Christ,

S. John
vi. 56.

„ *Heⁿ that eateth My flesh and drinketh My Blood abid-*

¹ I have construed this from a Syriac extract in one of Severus' Epistles, which supplies the words, *confess and the Same, God made Man*, and gives rightly as instead of the *et* of the present Greek text. Severus' ms. omits the words just above *after the Union*, and very likely rightly.

^m *περιαντίσεται*, see also below book 5 p. 156, Defence of chapter 2 against Theodoret p. 209 d, on S. John 616 d.

ⁿ Marius Mercator gives a Latin translation of this, citing it as "in another treatise in the fifth quire of the book, *On the passage of Holy Scripture where it says, If thou shalt have remembered that thy brother hath ought against thee.*" Op. p. 115 Baluz. It occurs also in a fuller form among the passages cited before the Council of Ephesus, ib. pp 209, 210. and by S. Cyril in his Defence of

„ *eth in Me and I in him.* Remember that what is said is BOOK IV. 4.
 „ about the flesh. *As the Living Father sent Me, Me, the* S. John
 „ visible : but sometimes I misinterpret. Let us hear from vi. 57.
 „ what follows : *As the living Father sent Me, he* ¹ *says the* 1 ἐκεῖνος,
 „ Godhead, *I the Manhood : let us see who it is who is* i.e. his
 „ mis-interpreting. The heretic says [he says °] here the opponent,
 „ Godhead, *Sent Me God the Word. As the living Father* S. Cyril
 „ *sent Me, according to him, and I live, God the Word, be-*
 „ *cause of the Father.* After this, *And he that eateth Me he* Ib.
 „ *too shall live.* Whether do we eat, the Godhead or the
 „ flesh ?,

Thou sayest therefore that the flesh alone has been sent, § 4
 and affirmest that it is which is seen : it therefore suffices
 also alone by itself to quicken that which is tyrannized by
 death. Why then do the God-inspired Scriptures tell a
 tale ² to no purpose and over and over assert that the 2 βαψφοδοῦ-
 Word out of God the Father was made Flesh? for what σι see p. 8
 need at all would there be of the Word, if the human nature
 sufficeth for us, even though conceived of alone and by it-
 self, so as to be able to bring to nought death and to undo
 the might of decay? and if it is as you suppose and choose
 to think, not God the Word Who has been sent through
 being made as we, but the flesh alone which is seen has
 been sent by the Father, how is it not clear to all, that we
 have been made participant of a human body and one in
 no wise whatever differing from our own ^p? how there-
 fore do you elsewhere laugh at those who so think? for
 thou saidst again,

„ I will speak the words too of offence. Of His own
 „ Flesh was the Lord Christ discoursing to them; *Except* Ib. 53.
 „ *ye eat, He says, the Flesh of the Son of Man and drink*
 „ *His Blood, ye have no Life in you :* the hearers endured

his 11th chapter against the Eastern Bi-
 shops, pp. 192 e 193 a b.

° [he says]. I have supplied this to
 fill up the sense from S. Cyril's fuller
 citations against the Eastern bishops.

^p S. Cyril means that if not God the
 Word have been *sent* but a mortal body

only, to this same must refer the words
 which follow, *He that eateth Me, he too*
shall live, must refer to a mortal body
 only, and one just like ours, so that our
 food should be no longer the Eucharist
 but only that.

AG. NEST. „ not the loftiness of what was said, they imagined of their „ unlearning that He was bringing in cannibalism.,,

§ 5 And how is the thing not plain cannibalism, and in
 See Real Presence, pp. 566 sqq. what way is the Mystery yet lofty, unless we say that the Word out of God the Father has been sent, and confess that the mode of that sending was the Incarnation? For then, then we shall see clearly, that the Flesh which was united to Him and not another's flesh, avails to give
 chapter 11 Life, yet 'because it has been made the very own of Him who is mighty to quicken all things.' For if this visible fire infuses the force of its natural inherent power into those substances with which it comes in contact, and changes water itself though cold by nature into that which is contrary to its nature and makes it hot; what wonder or how can one disbelieve that the Word out of God the Father being the Life by Nature rendered the Flesh which is united to Him, Life-giving? for it is His very own and not that of another conceived of as apart from Him and of one of us. But if thou remove the Life-giving Word of God from the Mystical and true Union with His Body and sever them utterly, how canst thou shew that it is still Life-giving? And Who was it who said, *He that eateth My Flesh and drinketh My Blood, abideth in Me and I in him?* If then it be a man by himself and the Word of God have not rather been made as we, the deed were cannibalism and wholly unprofitable the participation (for I hear Christ Himself say, *The flesh profiteth nothing, it is the Spirit that quickeneth*, for as far as pertains to its own nature, the flesh is corruptible¹, and will in no wise quicken others, sick itself of the decay that is its own): but if thou say that it is the Own Body of the Word Himself, why dost thou speak portentously and utter vain things³, contending that not the very Word out of God the Father has been sent, but some other than of Him, „ the visible, „ or His Flesh, albeit the God-inspired Scripture every where proclaimeth One Christ, full well affirming that the Word

S. John
vi. 56.

Ib. 63.

³τεραπεύη
καὶ εἰκαί-
ομυθεῖς

¹ See the same explanation given in S. Cyril's commentary on S. John, ad loc. p. 435 O.T.

was made Man as we and defining herein the tradition of BOOK IV.5. the right Faith.

But out of overmuch reverence ⁴, he blushes (it appears) ⁴ εὐλαβέ-
ας at the measures of emptiness and endures not to see the Son Co-Eternal with God the Father, Him who is in the Form and Equality in everything with Him Who begat Him, come down unto lowliness: he finds fault with the economy and haply leaves not unblamed the Divine Counsel and Plan. For he pretends to investigate the force of the things said by Christ, and as it were taking in ^r the depth of the ideas; then bringing round (as he thinks) my ^s words

^r καὶ οἷον ἀναμασσόμενος [perhaps ἀναματτόμενος] τὸ τῶν ἐννοιῶν βάθος. Compare the similar phrase ἀναμαζόμενοι δὲ ἀκριβῶς τὴν τοῦ νοήματος δύναμιν. S. Cyril on S. John p. 107 b (p. 125 O.T.). The word also occurs in the commentary on S. John (ἀνεμάττοντο 182 init., ἀναματτόμεθα—ἀναμάττεται 217 d, ἀναματτόμενοι 550 fin., ἀναματτόμενος 560 e, pp. 208, 217, 249, 641, 653 O.T.) of receiving in one's own self the impress of a thing.

^s S. Cyril in his great Letter to the monks which Nestorius had seen (see above p. 20 note 1) and was apparently contradicting had said, "And the Divine-uttering Paul will assure us, saying, *But when the fulness of time came God sent forth His Son made of a woman made under the law, in order to redeem them that were under the law, in order that we might recover the adoption. Who then is He who is sent, made (as he said) under the law and of a woman, save He Who is above laws as God? but since He has been called man, made under the Law too, in order to be in all things likened to His brethren?*" Ep. 1 to the monks, p. 13 b. And in his 16th Paschal homily, "For as the Divine-uttering Paul writes, *God sent forth His Son made of a woman made under the law.* For we do not say that the Word of God came down into a man born through woman, in just the same way as He was in the Prophets; but rather we shall crown with right approval John's voice clearly and truly saying, *And the Word was made flesh and tabernacled among us.* And we shall conceive that the Word has been made flesh, participating in flesh and blood; and this in like way with those who are in blood and flesh, ourselves." p. 227 d e. Nestorius' objection to the idea of *Sent* anyhow referring to God the Word appears in his objections on pp. 48, 51, 52, 84 as well as

in the present section. To it we owe S. Cyril's magnificent teaching here of the Blessings given us in and by the Holy Eucharist: for to the verse specially in controversy, S. John vi. 57, Nestorius adds the preceding ver. 56, with a view to the argument he draws from the word *flesh*, and S. Cyril in replying gives the full teaching of the Catholic Church on the subject both of the Eucharist, and of the sending. S. Cyril meets Nestorius' teaching not only here but (on the Holy Eucharist) in his great Letter (3 Epistles p. 65 and chapter 11, p. 69) and the Explanation of chapter 11, p. 156 c d. But in his defence of his chapter 11 against the attack of the Eastern Bishops, S. Cyril cites in full this passage of Nestorius and (after alluding to the present treatise in the words that he has already made a long treatise in answer to Nestorius) proceeds, "What it is he wants to understand, in saying that it is not God the Word Incarnate and made Man that has been sent, but putting severally and apart (as he says), the visible,," I cannot say, yea rather his sophism is now evident, for he undoes the plan of the union in order that Christ's Body may be found to be a common body, no longer in truth the 'proper Body of Him who is mighty to quicken all things.'

"For petty confessedly to God the Word are all human things, but since He deigned for our sakes to endure the emptiness that is the salvation of the world, even though He be said to have been sent to preach *remission to captives and recovery of sight to the blind*, He is glorified rather as enduring the abasement of the Economy with flesh, and no one of those who are wont to think aright will (I suppose) find fault because He lowered Himself for our sakes in our condition.

"Does he not therefore by affirming

AG. NEST. to a seeming absurdity and ignorance; „Let us see, he S. John „says, who it is that mis-interprets. *As the Living Father* vi. 57.

that „the visible, „ to whom alone he hath allotted the fact of being sent, is some other son and christ than the Word out of God, exhibit our mystery as cannibalism, in unholy wise bringing round the mind of believers to feeble notions and essaying to subject to human reasonings what are apprehended by unquestioning faith alone? for not because the Nature of the Godhead is not eaten, will one therefore say that the holy Body of Christ is common: but it is needful to know (as we said before) that it is the Proper Body of the Word which quickeneth all things, and since it is the Body of Life it is also life-giving, for through It does the SON infuse life into our mortal bodies and undoes the mastery of death: and the HOLY SPIRIT of Christ quickeneth us in equal wise; for it is the Spirit that quickeneth, according to the Saviour's own voice." Def. cap. 11 adv. orient. p. 193 b c d e. So again in S. Cyril's Letter to the Emperor de recta fide (which Nestorius is very likely to have seen though probably not sent so soon as this) S. Cyril cites the text and says, "Yet how is it not true to say that the flesh hath come not out of heaven, but was out of the Virgin according to the Scriptures? yet is not the Word eaten, but He is seen in thousand ways gathering both into One [uniting] the properties of the natures by an economic coming together (συνβασιον) p. 35 d e. When S. Cyril republished this treatise in a revised form, he concluded this extract, "gathering both into One and as it were immingling (ἀνακίρντας) the properties of the natures." p. 708 a. In his treatise to the Empresses (Eudocia the Emperor's wife and his sister Pulcheria who had been Empress in her Brother's minority), written at the same time as the treatise to the Emperor, S. Cyril says, "*As the Living Father sent Me both I live because of the Father and he that eateth Me he too shall live because of Me.*" I would gladly ask them who distinguish into two christs, the One, Who I pray is He Who has been sent by God the Father and Who both lives because of Him and is on that account Life-giving? If therefore it is the Word who is out of Him, bare and by Himself, how is He eaten by us in order that we may live because of Him (for unembodied is the Godhead by Nature)? but if they say that he that hath been sent is man alone and by himself, how is he life-giving because he lives because of the Father? albeit how are not all we

that are on earth among the living, God the Father quickening us, if it is true that in Him we live and move and are? Since therefore we all of us live because of the Father, how (I pray) is the body of one man alone life-giving on this account and those of the rest have not rather the same operation, seeing that we all (as I said) both are and live because of the Father? what then do we say to this? The Word of God appearing in human form has been called Sent (apostle) (for He was sent to preach remission to captives and recovery of sight to the blind), but He lives because of the Father for He was begotten out of the Living Father: for it must needs, it must needs that the SON born of God the Father Living and Life be full surely Life by Nature. But since He made His own the body which was taken out of the holy Virgin, He rendered it Life-giving and with reason, for it is the Body of the Life which quickeneth all things. Hence we may not sever into two sons the One Son and Christ and Lord; since He is the Same, Life as out of the Father, Life and Living; Lifegiving through His own Body too, as God made as we and Incarnate." de recta fide to the Empresses § 40 p. 177 a b c d. In the Thesaurus S. Cyril speaks of sending in reference to either the Eternal Generation or the temporal Birth for our sakes (compare S. Aug. on S. John hom. 21 fin. pp. 338 sq. O.T. with homm. 36, 40, pp. 507, 545 O.T.) "The Son says that He has been sent by the Father, either [either is supplied from MSS.] after the mode of obedience and Incarnation (for He emptied Himself taking servant's form and became obedient unto death), or as out of the sun the light that is born and emitted from forth it, or out of the fire its heat, indivisibly and inseparably permeating to its participator." Thes. cap. 32 p. 325. In his comm. on S. John, S. Cyril takes sent as belonging to the Incarnation, p. 424 O.T. The very Rev. John Burgon B.D. Dean of Chichester, very kindly sent me from his laboriously constructed Indices of the New Testament citations of the Greek Fathers, a list of the citations in S. Cyril's extant writings of S. John vi. 57. It is probable that Nestorius' allusion to S. Cyril's interpretation of sent, belongs not to any comment on this verse but to the meaning as given in his great Letter to the Monks; which letter Nestorius elsewhere contradicts.

because of Father, *His Very SON : by His flesh we live.* 145

„sent Me, for I live (according to him) God the Word, *be-* BOOK IV. 5.
„cause of the Father, and he that eateth Me he too shall live :
„which do we eat, the Godhead or the flesh ? „ Perceivest
thou not therefore at length how thy mind is gone ? for
the Word of God saying that He is sent, says, *he also that*
eateth Me, he too shall live. But we eat, not consuming the
Godhead (away with the folly) but the Very Flesh of the
Word Which has been made Life-giving, because it has
been made His Who liveth *because of the Father.* And
we do not say that by a participation from without and
adventitious is the Word quickened by the Father, but
rather we maintain that He is Life by Nature, for He has
been begotten out of the Father who is Life. For as the
sun's brightness which is sent forth, though it be said (for see Thea.
example) to be bright because of the sender, or of that out p. 325,
of which it comes, yet not of participation hath it the being cited in
bright, but as of natural nobility ⁵ it weareth the Excellence ⁵ *εὐγενείας*
of him who sent it or flashed it forth : in the same way and ^{as}
manner, I deem, even though the Son say that He lives
because of the Father, will He bear witness to Himself His
own Noble Birth ⁶ from forth the Father, and not with the ⁶ *εὐγενείας*
rest of the creation promiscuously, confess that He has Life ^{as}
imparted and from without.

And as the Body of the Word Himself is Life-giving,
He having made it His own by a true union passing under-
standing and language ; so we too who partake of His
holy Flesh and Blood, are quickened in all respects and
wholly, the Word dwelling in us Divinely through the
Holy Ghost, humanly again through His Holy Flesh and
Precious Blood. The most holy Paul will confirm the
truth of what I said, writing thus to those in Corinth who
believed in our Lord Jesus Christ, *I speak as to wise men,* ^{1 Cor. x.}
judge ye what I say, the Cup of Blessing which we bless ^{15—17.}
is it not the communion of the Blood of Christ ? the Bread
which we break is it not the communion of the Body of Christ ?
for one bread one body are we who are many, for we all
are partakers of One Bread. For having partaken of the
Holy Ghost, we are made one both with Christ Himself

AG. NEST. the Saviour of all and with one another: we are of the same body in this way, that *we being many are one bread one body, for we all are partakers of the One Bread.* For the Body of Christ which is in us binds us together into unity and is in no way divided. But that through the Body of Christ we have been brought together into unity with Him and with one another, the blessed Paul will confirm, writing,
 Eph. iii. 1-6. *For this cause I Paul the Prisoner of Jesus Christ in behalf of you Gentiles, if ye heard of the economy of the grace of God which was given me to you-ward, how that by revelation He made known unto me the mystery, as I wrote afore in few words, whereby when ye read, ye may understand my knowledge in the mystery of Christ which in other ages was not made known to the sons of men as now it is revealed unto His holy Apostles and prophets in the Spirit, that the Gentiles should be fellow-heirs and of the same body and co-participant in the promise in Christ.*

But since some of those who at first believed, ignorant of the tradition and force of the Mystery were pleased to be borne aside from what was right, celebrating in the churches banquetings and public feastings, the blessed Paul found fault with those who used so to do, writing,
 1 Cor. xi. 22-26. *For have ye not houses to eat and to drink in? or despise ye the Church of God and shame them that have not? what shall I say to you? shall I praise you in this? I praise you not; for I received of the Lord what I also delivered to you, that the Lord Jesus Christ in the night in which He was delivered up, took bread and gave thanks and brake and said, This is My Body given for you, this do in remembrance of Me. Likewise the Cup too after supper saying, This Cup is the New Testament in My Blood, do this as oft as ye drink it in remembrance of Me: for as oft as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye are declaring the Lord's death, till He come.*

And that the Mystery is Divine and the participation Life-giving and the might of this unbloody Sacrifice far better than the worship under the Law, is easy to see even from his saying that the things ordained through Moses to them of old time were a shadow, but Christ and what

is His the truth. The most wise Paul too will help us BOOK IV. 5.
 herein, thus writing, *One that despised Moses' Law died* Heb. x. 28, 29.
without mercy under two or three witnesses, of how much
sorer punishment, suppose ye, shall he be thought worthy who
trod under foot the Son of God and accounted common the
Blood of the covenant wherein he was sanctified, and did
despite unto the Spirit of grace? For they that of old did
 sacrifice the lamb ate thereof, but the force of the eating
 amounted not simply to the satisfying of the belly, nor
 was it for this that the sacrifices were performed under the
 Law : but that when death fell on the rest, they might be
 superior to its suffering and might escape the destroyer.
 And verily in one night were the first-born of the Egyptians
 destroyed, but these fenced by the bare type, alone were
 saved by it, and having the shadow for their shield, pre-
 vailed gloriously over death itself too. The types then
 saved those before us ; in what condition are our matters,
 on whom at length beamed the Truth itself, that is, Christ,
 Who setteth before us His own Life-giving Flesh to par-
 take of ? is it not clear to all ? For very exceedingly better
 and in vast superiority are they. And the might of the
 Mystery our Lord Jesus Christ making manifest saith,
Verily I say to you, he that believeth on Me hath everlasting S. John vi. 47—51.
life, I am the Bread of Life : your fathers ate the manna in
the wilderness and died, this is the Bread which cometh down
from Heaven that a man may eat thereof and not die, I am
the Living Bread Which came down from Heaven, if any
man eat of this Bread he shall live for ever and the Bread
Which I will give is My Flesh Which is for the Life of the
world. For since they of the blood of Israel had marvelled
 at Moses for the largess of manna sent down to those of
 that time in the desert, which fills up a type of the Mystic
 Eucharist (for the Law is a shadow), therefore with ex-
 ceeding skill doth our Lord Jesus Christ minish the type,
 driving them ⁷ [from it] unto the truth. For not that (He <sup>7 μετασυσ-
βῶν</sup>
 says) was the Bread of Life, but rather, I Who am out of
 Heaven and Who quicken all things and infuse Myself into
 them that eat Me, through My Flesh too that is united to

AG. NEST.
S. John
vi. 53—
57.

Me. Which indeed He made clearer saying, *Verily I say unto you, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His Blood, ye have not Life in you : he that eateth My Flesh and drinketh My Blood hath eternal Life and I will raise him up at the last day, for My Flesh is true meat and My Blood is true drink ; he that eateth My Flesh and drinketh My Blood abideth in Me and I in him. As the Living Father sent Me and I live because of the Father, he also that eateth Me, he too shall live.* Consider then how He abideth in us and maketh us superior to corruption, infusing Himself into our bodies, as I said, through His own Flesh too, which is *true meat*, whereas the shadow in the Law and the worship under it possess not the truth.

And the plan of the Mystery is simple and true, not overwrought with varied devices of imaginations unto unholiness but simple as I said. For we believe that to the body born through the holy Virgin, having a reasonable soul, the Word out of God the Father having united Himself (unspeakable is the union, and wholly a Mystery!) rendered it Life-giving, being as God Life by Nature, that making us partakers of Himself spiritually alike and bodily, He might both make us superior to decay and might through Himself bring to nought the law of sin which is in the members of the flesh, might^t *condemn sin in the flesh*, as it is written. But this no wise (I deem) pleases this dogmatist of new inventions, who like some straying⁸ calf runs after only what pleases himself and minishes⁹ the force of the mystery saying,

Rom. viii.
3.

⁸ ἀτιμαγέ-
λας, for-
saking the
herd
⁹ κατα-
σμικρύνει,
and so p.
147 near
the end

„Hear the word *Lord* too, sometimes put of the human
„nature of Christ, sometimes of His Godhead, sometimes
„of both. *As oft as ye eat this Bread and drink this Cup,*
„*ye declare the Lord's Death.* Hear from the foregoing the
„unlearning of the gainsayers, how they read the mighty
„profit of the mystery, and whose memorial it imparts to
„men, and hear not me saying these things, but the blessed

1 Cor. xi.
26.

^t I have construed κατέκρινε as if it were κατακρίνη. The Roman Editors marked the place as obscure.

„Paul, *As oft as ye eat this bread*, he said not, *As oft as ye* BOOK IV. 6.
 „eat this Godhead. *As oft as ye eat this bread.* See what
 „is before us concerning the Lord's Body. *As oft as ye*
 „eat this Bread, whereof the Body is the antitype. Let
 „us see therefore whose is the Death. *As oft as ye eat*
 „this bread and drink this Cup, ye declare the Lord's Death.
 „Hear yet plainer in what follows, *Till He come*, who is it
 „Who is coming? *They shall see the Son of Man coming in* S. Matt. xxiv. 30.
 „the clouds of heaven with great glory. And greater still, the
 „Prophet before the Apostles did more clearly shew Him
 „Who is coming and hath cried aloud proclaiming of the
 „Jews, *They shall look on Him Whom they pierced.* Who Zech. xii. 10.
 „then is he that was pierced? the Side: belongs the Side
 „to the body, or the Godhead? „

§ 6

Again must we speak for the doctrines of the Truth, and
 oppose, sir, thy words, and before all else must say this to
 those who will hear: Thy aim is and with all diligence to
 represent two christs, to whom severally may belong the
 title of lordship, but it shall be shewn by us, without any
 great toil, that you go to this in most unlearned wise. For
 come tell me who ask thee, what Christ you are defining,
 whose you say is both the manhood and likewise the God-
 head: if the Word out of God the Father, you have clearly
 confessed that the Same is man also, for you said that His
 is the human nature: but if him that is born of the Virgin
 according to thee, you will be caught no less pronouncing
 that He is God too: for you said that His is the Godhead
 also. On all sides therefore driven even against thy will
 to the Truth, confess with us One Christ and Lord: for
 thus will you cease from saying, „Hear the word *Lord* too,
 „one while put of the human nature of Christ, one while of
 „His Godhead, other while, of both: „for where there is
 One Son, what room is there to speak of *both*? and why
 dost thou smile at those who honour our Divine Mystery,
 saying most unholily, „*As oft as ye eat this bread and drink* 1 Cor. xi. 26.
 „the cup, ye declare the Lord's death? Hear from the fore-
 „going the unlearning of the gainsayers, how they read

AG. NEST. „ the mighty profit of the mystery and Whose memorial is
 „ set before men.,,

There is therefore nothing excellent in the unbloody sacrifice, but it profits exceeding little, and he will put the force of the gain thereof in just merely declaring a man's death and making a memorial of one like us. Therefore He lies in saying that He is Life-giving Who knows not how to lie, Christ: WE too have been cozened having a vain opinion of Him: and now late and with difficulty are we being guided unto the finding of the truth, by reading these thy words. But to you who choose to think thus, shall be said what is spoken through the Prophet's voice, *Lo thine eyes are not, nor thine heart comely.* For he by no means understandeth, that we setting forth the Death of Christ, confessing too His Resurrection, and gaining thereby perfection in the faith, then becoming partakers of His Divine Nature and that through participating of unity with Him, are sanctified spiritually alike and bodily and are quickened.

Jer. xxii. 17. *For this corruptible must put on incorruption and this mortal put on immortality:* and the robe that is out of Heaven and undecaying and productive of immortality hath Christ become to us. And our proof is the most holy Paul writing,

1 Cor. xv. 53. *Put ye on our Lord Jesus Christ,* at another again,

Rom. xiii. 14. *For as many of you as were baptized into Christ put on Christ,*

Gal. iii. 27. *Who saith in God-befitting way and truly, I am the Resurrection and the Life.*

S. John xi. 25.

To those things does he fearing nought put forth yet fouler impiety, adding, „ Hear not me saying these things „ but the blessed Paul, *As oft as ye do eat this bread,* where „ of the Body is the antitype. Let us see therefore here „ from whose is the death. *As oft as ye eat this bread, and „ drink this Cup, ye declare the Lord's death.* Hear yet „ plainer in what follows, *Till He come:* who then is he that „ is to come? *They shall see the son of man coming in the „ clouds of heaven with great glory.* And greater yet, the „ Prophet before the Apostles did more clearly shew Him „ Who is coming and hath cried proclaiming concerning „ the Jews, *They shall look on Him whom they pierced.* Who

1 Cor. xi. 26.

S. Matt. xxiv. 30.

Zech. xii. 10.

„ then is He which was pierced? The Side, belongs the BOOK IV. 6.
 „ Side to the Body, or to the Godhead? „ Petty therefore
 as I said, is the profit of the Unbloody Sacrifice, because
 perchance it hath not been feasible that the Nature of the
 Godhead too should be consumed along with the Flesh, be- see note s
 cause we are not in possession of impossibilities, having p. 144,
 the Incorporeal by Itself¹ to eat. But you seem to me to col. 1
 forget that it is by no means the Nature of Godhead that 1 γυμνόν
 lieth upon the holy Tables of the Churches, yet is it the
 own Body of the Word Begotten of God the Father: and
 God by Nature and in truth is the Word. Why therefore
 dost thou confound all things and jumble them without
 understanding, all but mocking at our Bread Which is out
 of Heaven and giveth Life to the world, because it is not
 called Godhead by the voice of the Divines, but rather the
 Body of Him Who hath become Man for us, that is, of the
 Word out of God the Father? And why (tell me) dost thou
 call it the Lord's Body at all, save because thou knowest it
 to be Divine and God's? for *all things serve* their Maker. Ps. cxix.

Yea the things in thy mind are not right, but thou be- 91.
 lievest Emmanuel to be merely a God-clad man. And then
 utterly heedless of thoughts and words that belong to
 piety, thou supposest that the Priest² of the Truth, the 2 τὸν ἱερ-
wise master-builder and teacher of the Gentiles, the truly ουργόν
 holy and all-wise Paul will support thee in thy calumnia- 1 Cor. iii.
 ting, bearing away from the straight and most approved 10.
 path the force of what are rightly and without adultera- 1 Tim. ii.
 tion³ said by him. 7.

For „ let us see (he says) herefrom whose is the death. 3 ἀκιδ-
ήλως
 „ Till He come. Who is He Who is coming? *they shall*
 „ look^u on Him Whom they pierced. „ He will come there-
 fore Who suffered death humanly, has been raised Di-
 vinely, Who ascended too into the Heavens, Who with
 all state⁴ is on the Throne of the Ineffable Godhead and 4 ἐναβρύ-
νεται
 co-sitteth with the Father, the Seraphim standing around,

^u Here the part between *They shall*
see and *They shall look* appears to have
 been omitted by a not unfrequent care-
 lessness of the Scribe in letting his eye
 wander from the one word to the same

word just below. For the sequel refers
 to these omitted words *They shall see*
the Son of Man coming in the clouds and
 indicates that their omission was acci-
 dental, not intentional.

AG. NEST. and the Highest Powers, not unknowing of the measure of their subjection to Him; every Authority and Power and Lordship worshipping Him: for *to Him shall bend every knee and every tongue shall confess, Lord Jesus, to the glory of God the Father.* He shall come (as I said) seen not in our littleness, but rather in most God-befitting glory, Heaven and the Spirits above encompassing Him as their God and King and standing by the Lord of all. If therefore the Word of God the Father be not rather in flesh, or made Man, but a God-clad man with bodily side and who endured the piercing, how is He seen on the Throne of the Supreme Godhead, revealed to us as a new god fourth after the Holy Trinity? hast thou not shuddered at a mere man, devising worship for the creature? are we then holden in the ancient snares? have we then done insult to God and has the holy multitude of the spirits above gone astray with us? if we have been set free from the ancient deceit, refusing as blasphemous to worship the creature, why dost thou casting us again into the old charges, exhibit us man-worshippers? for we know and believe that the Word out of God the Father assumed flesh and blood: but since He hath remained the Same, i.e., God, He retained the Dignity of His inherent Excellence over all, albeit in flesh as we, yet being no less God, now too than of old, even though He have been made Man, He hath the Heaven His adorer and the earth worshipping Him: for it is written, that *the earth is full of Thy praise, Thy Virtue covered the Heavens, O Lord.*

Hab. iii.
3.

S. Matt.
xxiv. 30.

Zech. xii.
10.

But THOU again, of thy over much infatuation, seest not that thus He is in Nature and Glory: for thou saidst, „Who is he who cometh? *they shall see the Son of man, coming in the clouds of heaven,* „ as though thou fearedst lest any should disbelieve thee saying that He Which cometh is son of man. Thou confirmest the proof thereof with prophetic testimony also: for thou sayest that it is written, *They shall look on Him Whom they pierced.* And yet mightier for proof as thou supposedst, most foolishly adding, „Who then is it (he says) that is pierced? the

„Side : belongs the Side to body or to the Godhead ? „ If BOOK IV. 6.
 there were any who say that the Word of God have not
 been made as we, but came among those on earth in bare
 Godhead, i.e., in semblance and as it were in shadow, as
 some of the unholy heretics thought good to think, you
 would have had some plea for such like framing of words,
 not passing the bound of what was meet : but since the
 preaching of the truth says clearly and manifestly that the
 Word of God was made Flesh and was called as we son of
 man too and suffered for us in the flesh and will also *so* Acts i. 11.
come as He went up into Heaven, according to the Angel's
 voice too : whom (tell me) dost thou opposing, and whose
 opinion cutting off⁵ as unlearned and of no account, dost ⁵ κατακι-
βδηλεύων
 thou strive to shew us that HE Who cometh is a man with
 bodily side which has been pierced through with the
 spear ?

But thine aim (as I said) is to bring in privily to us
 Emmanuel as a God-clad man and not rather God made
 Man, for the Word of God has been made Man. And this
 faith goes along with the holy and Divine Scriptures and
 the aim of the Apostolic and Evangelic Tradition tends to
 this same thing. But THOU again art talking big⁶ in an- ⁶ τερατεύη
 other way too : for thou pretendest to be finding fault
 with those who mingle into one essence, the nature of the
 flesh and of the Godhead (albeit there is no one as I deem
 who mingles them up or mixes them one with other), and
 sayest,

„ Why^x, as we were just now hearing, when both are
 „ according to thee mingled, does our Lord, delivering to
 „ the disciples the force of the Mystery, thus say, *He took* S. Luke
 „ *bread and gave thanks and gave to His disciples saying,* xxii. 19,
 „ *Take, eat all of you for this is My Body.* Why said He S. Matt.
 „ not, This is My Godhead Which is being broken for xxvi. 26.

^x This passage occurs in Mercator, in the middle of a long piece which he gives with the heading, *Also in the sixth quire of the same on Judas, against the heretics* (p. 116 Bal.). The portion preceding this is given below, p. 171. The extract concludes, „ Sever the nature

„ but connect the union : confess Christ
 „ Son of God, yet a two-fold son, man
 „ and God, in order that the suffer-
 „ ing may be allotted to the human na-
 „ ture, the undoing of the suffering which
 „ was wrought on the man who suffered,
 „ may belong to the Godhead alone. „

AG. NEST. „you ? and again giving the cup of the Mysteries, He said
 „not, This is My Godhead Which is being poured forth
 S. Matt. „for you, but *This is My Blood which is being shed for you*
 xxvi. 28. „for the remission of sins. „

§ 7 That it is therefore an exceeding folly to want to oppose oneself to those who are not at all, and to no purpose to march forth, taking for contradiction that which no one (I suppose) cared either to think or say, how is it not manifest to all ? for if one chose to contend that the ox is not by nature an horse, nor yet man an horse, whereas no one would even endure to think or say this ;—how would he
 I Cor. ix. not be laughed at and besides a vain talker, *beating the air*
 26. and *fighting against things uncertain* and devising for himself sweat and toil against what was not there ? For I say
 see above that something confessed ought first to be laid down, in
 p 37. order that then in due order ours may be ranged against it.

But let us come to this : for if there be any who should dare to say the Word out of God had been transformed into the nature of the body, one might very reasonably object to him, that He on giving His Body did not rather say, Take eat this is My Godhead which is being broken for you, and, this is not My Blood but rather My Godhead which is being poured forth for you. But since the Word being God made His own the Body born of a woman, without undergoing any alteration or turning, how must not He who saith no untruth say, *Take eat this is My Body ?* for being Life as God, He rendered it Life and Life-giving.

Having therefore opened your eyes but a little to the Truth, you will I suppose charge, yourself against yourself, your superfluity of language, on all sides stuttering and unlearnedly arraying against the Doctrines of piety this thy counterfeit and joyless discourse.

TOME V.

on chapter
12

Jewish disbelief in Christ followed by some christian teachers. The SON God by Nature gave His own body to death to free us, albeit His Godhead might not suffer. "Glory before the world was," can be no *man's* glory but that of God. Father most strictly God the FATHER though He permit such relations to us. 'Crucified out of weakness,' yet, Lord of glory. 'Servant's form.' 'Not Mine own will.' The forsaking on the Cross. He raised His own Body. S. Thomas' confession. Nicene Fathers. Testimony of God and man to the SON.

THE Divine-uttering Paul glories in the Sufferings of Christ and says, one while, *But to me be it not that I should* Gal. vi. 14. *glory save in the Cross of Christ through Whom the world has been crucified to me and I to the world,* another while again, *For I am not ashamed of the Gospel, for it is the* Rom. i. 16. *power of God unto salvation unto every one that believeth, to the Jew first and to the Greek.* And thus did the Spirit-clad deem right both himself to think and besides to teach others, for he hath written not without purpose, but that he might persuade us to be zealous for the rightness of the faith that was in him, choosing to delight¹ us in the Suffer-^{1 ἐναβρύνησθαί} ings of Christ. But some are ashamed of the Cross and impiously rising up against them that have been made teachers of all below the sun, by reason that they choose to think contrarily, they (wretched ones!) all but smile at Christ's sufferings and are ashamed of the Gospel, sick with the Jewish unlearning and in no way inferior to them in infatuation. For the Saviour's Cross hath become to them an offence: and verily they beholding the Prince of Life, the fulfilment of the Law, affixed to the wood, they were wagging at Him their impious heads, not believing that God is of a truth made Man and come down unto emptiness, but supposing rather that He was simply a man as we, and they said, *putting forth as out of the evil treasure* S. Matt. xii. 35.

- AG. NEST. of their heart evil things, Thou That destroyest the temple
 S. Matt. and buildest it in three days save Thyself; if Thou be the
 xxvii. 40.
 Ib. 42. Son of God, come down from the Cross : and again, He saved
 others, Himself He cannot save, if He be the king of Israel,
 let Him now come down from the Cross and we will believe
 on Him. For they thought not, as I said just now, that
 He was God by Nature, nor yet in truth Son of God the
 Father but rather that He was bragging² and daring to al-
 lot to Himself the glory of the Godhead. Hence they used
 to say, one while, *For a good work we stone Thee not, but for*
blasphemy, because THOU being a man makest Thyself God ;
 another while they brought Him to Pilate and besought
 that He should be crucified, and when he demanded that
 they should tell the reason of their awkwardness³ towards
 Him, they straightway began to accuse Him saying that
 Ib. xix. 7. *He made Himself the Son of God.* But lo now too, not at
 the hands of them of Israel nor yet from the multitude of
 the Pharisees, but at their hands who seem to be Christians
 and are ranked among teachers and them whose lot is the
 Divine Priesthood, doth He manifestly suffer equal case.
 For He is disbelieved to be both God by Nature, and One
 and Alone and Verily Son of God the Father, and the plea
 of their ill-counsel as to this very thing, that He chose to
 suffer death in the flesh, albeit for this cause He descended
 unto emptiness economically, in order that suffering for
 us in the flesh, He might bring to nought the mastery of
 death, as being Himself by Nature Life and sprung of Life,
 God the Father. For the nature of man was sick of decay,
 in its firstfruits and original root, i. e., Adam. For since
 it offended through its disobedience its Law-giver and God
 and That brought it forth unto being, straightway it was
 accursed and liable to death, and *death hath reigned from*
Adam unto Moses, the doom for this extending over the
 whole seed and race that is from him. For as sprung from
 corruptible root, corruptible are we too, and abide (wretch-
 ed !) holden in the meshes of death. But when the Creator
 planned good things concerning us and willed to transele-
 ment the nature of man, decay being taken away, unto what

² περιαν-
 ῖσθαι

S. John
 x. 33.

³ σκαίω-
 τητος

Rom. v.
 14.

it was at the beginning, He adorned^a a new root (so to speak) for us, which endured not to be o'ermastered by death, the One Lord Jesus the Christ, that is, God the Word out of His Essence made man as we, *made of a woman*. For we do not say that just a man is God-bearing⁴, but that the Word out of God has been of a truth ^{θεοφόρον} Its very Self united to flesh, in order, having laid down His Life for us, and given to death His own Body for our sakes economically, and then shewn it superior to corruption through the Resurrection from the dead, to give pledge to all who believe on Him that He will raise up us too, and make us superior to the bonds of death, and little heedful of the nets of decay.

Hence I deem it is that the Divine-uttering Paul too, makes a matter of much speech and marvel, the love towards us of God the Father. For he said thus, *What shall we say therefore to these things? if God be for us, who is against us? He that spared not His own Son but gave Him up for us all, how shall He not with Him too freely give us all things*^b? albeit exceeding many are the sons by grace and of adoption (for we too have been called *gods* and *all* are *sons of the Most High*), but One and Alone is He Who is so by Nature and is His Own, that is, God the Word Who is out of Him even when He was made Flesh. For thus do we say that He has been given even for all, as Himself too somewhere saith, *For God so loved the world that He gave His Only-Begotten Son that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have eternal life*. Only-Begotten therefore is He Who was given, for He Alone sprung from the Essence of God the Father, the Word both out of Him and in Him :

^a ἐπὶ ἡννόθησε, I have translated as if it were ἐπὶ ἡννόθησε.

^b S. Cyril in his first Letter to the Monks comments thus on this text: "Then (tell me) how is He who is forth of the holy virgin called God's own Son? for as the own of a man and so of each animal besides, is that which is born thereof by nature: thus God's own will be conceived and said to be that which is out of His Essence. How then has Christ been called God's own Son, who has also been

given by God the Father for the salvation and life of all? for *He was delivered because of our transgressions*, and Himself bare the sins of many in His Body upon the Tree, according to Prophet's voice. It is evident then, that the fact of the Union, of necessity brought forward, shews that He who is forth of the holy Virgin is God's own Son." Epp. p. 15 a b. see also de recta fide to the Princesses Arcadia and Marina p. 104 a.

BOOK V.

Gal. iv. 4.

θεοφόρον

Rom. viii. 31, 32.

Ps. lxxxii. 6.

S. John iii. 16.

AG. NEST. but since He hath been made Man, therefore do we make
 1 Cor. xi. our faith in Him *declaring His death* after the Flesh and
 26. confessing His Resurrection, knowing that the Same is both
 Son before the ages and Man economically in the last times
 1 S. Peter and that He *suffered in the flesh* for our sakes and hath
 iv. 1. risen from the dead.

But (I know not how) the advocate of the Jews' unlearning is indignant at our words, for he said again,

„That therefore the divine Scripture puts, *Son*, of the
 „birth from the Virgin, Mother of Christ, we have shewn.
 „Hear of His death also, whether *God* is any where put, so
 Rom. v. „as we might bring in a passible God: *Being enemies*, it
 10. „says, we were *reconciled to God through the death of His*
 comp. „*Son*, it said not, Through the death of God the Word. „
 serm. 2 p. 66 Bal. „True is it, according as it is written, *There is a righteous*
 Eccles. man *that perisheth in his righteousness*: for that whose na-
 vii. 15. ture is to hurt, putting on sometimes the shew of being
 § 1 helpful, turns aside from what is right, even the well sta-
 blished mind. For he thinks he is pious in no slight de-
 gree, essaying to confirm what is confessed by all, there-
 fore saying, In His own Nature the Word out of God the
 Father is as God beyond sufferings and superior to death;
 for how should Life die? Yet he not a whit the less too
 offends against the doctrines of the Church, wholly unreck-
 ing of the economy with flesh of the Only-Begotten, and in
 no wise considering the depth of the mystery.

If it were under examination by us, what were the Na-
 ture of the Word, or we had to declare it to them who
 asked and were desirous of learning it; it would I sup-
 pose be of a surety meet and necessary, hastening to go
 through every wise and true thought, to shew that It is
 unapproachable by death and utterly removed from suffer-
 ings. But since the mode of the Incarnation gives Him,
 so far as pertains to the plan of the Economy, even though
 He choose to die in the flesh, to suffer nought in His
 own Nature, why bereavest thou us of our fairest boasts?
 for thou heard'st Him say, *The Good Shepherd layeth*

down *His Life for His sheep*. Hence even though He be BOOK V. 1. said to suffer, we know that He is Impassible as God, we say that He hath suffered death economically in His own Flesh, in order that treading it and risen in that He is Life and Life-giving, He might transelement unto incorruption that which is tyrannized over by death, i. e., the body: and so unto us too spreadeth the might of the achievement, extending unto the whole race. And verily the Divine-uttering Paul saith, *I through the Law died to the law that I might live unto God, I am crucified with Christ, I live, no longer I, but Christ liveth in me, and wherein I now live, I live in faith, in the flesh^c of the Son of God Who loved me and gave Himself for me. I do not frustrate the grace of God.* For no longer do we live our own life but rather that in Christ, and true is it that *One died for all that they who live should no more live unto themselves but to Him which died for them and rose.* For before that the Only-Begotten Word of God beamed on us, mastered by unlearning and darkness and having the yoke of sin and impiously ascribing worship to the creature rather than our Creator and Maker and practising unblamed every kind of baseness, we wretched abode in severance [from Him], in mind hostile to Him, but we have been *reconciled through the death of His Son*, as it is written. Gal. ii. 19 —21. 2 Cor. v. 14, 15. Rom. v. 10.

But THOU again hast made but slight account of the truth, and putting forth unto us thy speech unbridled unto vapidity⁵, sayest that the world has been reconciled to God, 5 ἐξιτηλίαν not through the Only-Begotten, i. e. the Word That sprang of the Father; and hearing, *the death of His Son*, and investigating subtilly as thou supposest, the words of the Divine, thou fearedst not to say, „ He said not, Through the death of God the Word.,, Then how (tell me) were such a word wise, yea rather, how were it not replete with utter distraction? for how were it meet (tell me) to set forth the Life as subject to death; and to the Nature Which quick-

^c This transposition is probably a 403 b, de Ad. 408 a, de Recta fide 68 b, manuscript-error, there is no trace of in xii Prophetas 853 d. it in the same citation in Glaph. 227 e,

AG. NEST. eneth all things to lay a charge of decay, how were it not wholly distraught and would it not be, and that with reason, a charge^d of blasphemy reaching unto the very extreme? By no means therefore does the mind of the saints go along with thy subtilties herein, or rather thy idle words: for it knows, it knows that the Word of God suffered in the flesh for our sakes, and through the death of His own Body hath called the world unto reconciliation with the Father Which is in Heaven. And verily when making His discourse with one of the holy disciples He somewhere said, *I am the Way and the Truth and the Life and no man cometh unto the Father but by Me*: but Truth and Life and Way, who else may be, save the Word which sprang of God, even though He have been made as we, by taking servant's form?

S. John
xiv. 6.

2 S. Pet.
i. 4.
Eph. ii.
13.
⁶σχετικῶς

S. John
xvii. 20—
23.

And that through Him we have been manifested *partakers of the Divine Nature* and, we who *once were far*, have been *made nigh*, united participatively⁶ through Him to the FATHER and besides to one another in one faith and unity of soul by reason of being made participant of One Spirit; Himself will give assurance saying unto God the Father in Heaven, *Not for these alone do I ask but for them also which believe on Me through their word, that they all may be one, as THOU Father art in Me and I in Thee, that they also may be one in us, that the world may believe that THOU sentest Me, and I, the glory which Thou hast given Me, have given them, that they may be one even as WE are one, both I in them, and THOU in Me that they may be perfected into one.* Understand therefore how Himself is of Nature in His own Father but is set forth a Mediator and Reconciler through being made as we: He is in us, both through His own Flesh Which quickeneth us in spirit and through partaking of His holiness, I mean again through the Holy Ghost. And He asketh as glory from the Father to make His own Nature manifest unto us, that It is both Life-giving

^d ἐπιβλημα, *patchwork*: I have translated, following the conjecture of the Roman Editors, as if it were ἐπίκλημα

or rather, what is more S. Cyril's word, ἐγκλημα.

and superior to corruption as God. And verily He said BOOK V. 1.
again, I *glorified Thee on the earth by perfecting the work* S. John xvii. 4, 5.
which Thou hast given Me to do, and now do THOU glorify
Me, o Father, with Thyself with the glory which I had before
the world was, with Thee. And a perfected work are WE,
in Him first overcoming decay and treading on the might
of death, for He lived anew from the dead, having all in
Himself.

But haply bearing off to other ideas what has been said,
thou sayest^e that not of God the Word ought these things
to be understood, but removing from Him and putting
apart by himself him that is born of the holy Virgin as
another son, thou affirmest that him it is whom such things
befit and art zealous to teach others also to think and say
with thee: and wilt (I suppose) surely say that the Only-
Begotten Word of God being Lord of glory, would not as
though lacking glory, have sought it from the Father.
Hear therefore from us too, If thou sayest that the Only-
Begotten Son Who is out of God by Nature is not He Who
here asketh glory from the Father; who was it who said,
Glorify Me with the glory which I had before the world was,
with Thee? How then (tell me) was he that is of the holy
Virgin, conceived of according to thee as man separately,
before the world? will it not pertain to the Creator of the
ages, to have a being elder than the world and Co-eternal
with the Father? no one will doubt it of those who are
accustomed to think aright. When therefore He emptied
Himself receiving servant's form, then, then, desirous to
mount up unto the glory inherent in Him by Nature and
along with the Flesh which was united to Him, in fit sea-
son does He say, *Do THOU Father glorify Me with Thy-* Ib. 5.
self with the glory that I had before the world was with
Thee; that the world may believe that THOU sentest Me, and Ib. 21—
I, the glory which Thou hast given Me, have given them, that 23.
they may be one as WE are One, I in them, and THOU in Me
that they may be perfected into one. Through Him there-

^e φαμέν. The Roman Editors conjecture φῆς μὲν, and something of this sort seems necessary.

AG. NEST. fore have we had *the reconciliation*, for thus hath He per-
 Rom. v. 11. fected the work which the Father hath given Him for con-
 summation. And the supporter of my words will I make
 again the most holy Paul who thus wrote to those who
 Eph. ii. have been called out of the Gentiles, *But now in Christ*
 13—17. *Jesus YE who sometime were far off were made nigh in the*
Blood of Christ : for He is our Peace, Who made both one
and undid the middle wall of partition, having abolished in
His Flesh the enmity, the law of commandments in ordinances,
for to make in Himself of twain one new man, making peace ;
and that He might reconcile both unto God in one body through
the cross, having slain the enmity therein, and came and
preached peace to you which were afar off and to them that
 Rom. v. 1. *were nigh, and again elsewhere too, Justified therefore by*
faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ.
 Therefore we have been reconciled to God the Father
 through the death of His Son, who brought to nought or
 slew the enmity in *His Flesh*, according to the faith of the
 sacred scriptures.

But thyself art undoing the words of the economy and
 deignest not to confess that the Word of God hath suffered
 in the flesh for our sakes, making use of certain unskilful
 7 εὐρεσι- loquacity⁷ : for thou sayest that *Son* is a name common to
 λογίας the Word Which sprang of God and to ourselves. Then
 having made God the Word, through Whom we have been
 8 ἀεργῇ saved, no worker⁸ of the good things that have been
 wrought to us-ward, thou wilt be evidently caught allotting
 the things wherein He is glorified to one as we, conceived
 of as other than He and apart, and thou supposest that
 community of name will suffice full well for demonstration
 of what thou saidst and unrightly thoughtest ; not consider-
 ing that even though with things which obtain by nature
 the being ought, certain other of things that be, be said to
 be co-named, one must not therefore thrust away the things
 that are by nature, ever putting their properties about
 those which are by adoption or imitation. But we must
 (I deem) ever test the natures of things done and allot them
 to whomsoever they rightly pertain. As for example, the

who impart. The SON suffers not, sufferings of His Flesh His. 163

Father is named and is in truth God, and from Him *is every* BOOK v. 1.
father-hood^f both in heaven and upon earth named, as it is Eph. iii. 15.
 written, yet are there with us other fathers too both fleshly
 and spiritual. If therefore ought of things most God-
 befitting be said of God the Father, will it belong to those
 too who by adoption obtain the same title with Him,
 and will the identity of name thrust Him away from the
 things which in the highest degree befit Him alone? yet
 how is it not evident to all that it is both absurd and dis-
 cordant that any of ours should be minded thus to think
 and say? Why then dost thou ever talking to us of com-
 munity of name, dishonour the by Nature and truly Son,
 putting Him forth and rendering Him alien from kindly
 deeds to usward? albeit thou oughtest to gather into union
 what thou blushest not utterly to sever, and [oughtest] to
 deem one with His own Flesh the Word that is out of God
 the Father: for thus wilt thou free thyself from much toil,
 and deeming aright wilt at length be praised. And thou
 wilt in no wise say that the Godhead of the Only-Begotten
 is passible, but wilt with us confess that He is Life and Life-
 giving by Nature and moreover beyond all suffering; next
 that the flesh suffering which was united to Him, He *by the* Heb. ii. 9.
grace of God, as it is written, tasted *death for every man*, that
 having shewn His own Temple superior to him who had con-
 quered all that are on the earth, He might be called *the* 1 Cor. xv. 20.
firstfruits of them that slept and *the firstborn from the dead*: Col. i. 18.
 transmitting to us too the grace, that being One and Only
 Son, both before the Incarnation and after it He might yet be
 called Saviour and Redeemer of all: and freeing (as I said)
 from sin all who believe on Him, might become *peace to* Isa. lviii. 19.
them that are afar and to the near, reconciling through Him-
 self to God the Father them who of old worshipped the

^f πατριὰ. The use of this word is family, clan, see Bishop Ellicott ad loc.: but I have translated thus, following S. Cyril's use of the word, see also on S. John i. 1 p. 24 c, p. 27 O.T. τὸ τῆς πατριᾶς ἡτοὶ πατρότητος ὄνομα. Bp. Ellicott also cites the Peschito and Vulgate versions for the same understanding of

the word; compare too S. Athanasius against Arians, i. § 23. "For God does not make man His Pattern; but rather we men, for that God is properly and alone truly Father of His Son, are also called fathers of our own children, for of Him is every fatherhood in heaven and earth named." p. 215 O.T.

AG. NEST. creature and through sin were at enmity with the All-good God.

But severing again into a pair of sons the One Lord Jesus Christ, he says after this wise :

1 Cor. ii. 8. „Hear their other testimony also ; *for had they known, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory.* Lo he says „*the Lord of glory*, he calls not so the manhood but the „Godhead. But this belongs to those who pluck asunder „the accurate connection, for when thou sayest, This is not „Lord, but the other is, THOU makest Christ a mere „man. What then dost thou say, o heretic in clerical „form^s ? is the man too Lord or not ? if then he be Lord, „the things said agree^h ; if he be not Lord, do not THOU „making Christ a mere man, fasten the reproach of it on me., Then he says, „Hear we the blessed Paul openly crying out „who He is who is crucified. Hear then most plainly the „voice, *For (says he) He was crucified out of weakness, yet He liveth out of the Power of God.* If He were crucified out

2 Cor.
xiii. 4.

ἡ ἐν ἐκκλησιαστικῇ προσωπεῖῳ αἰρετικῇ. see exactly the same expression at the close of serm. 2 in Mercator, „Si haereticus tibi ex persona ecclesiastica mortuum Deum tuum exprobaverit, „p. 69 fin. Bal. It is not clear whom Nestorius is addressing as „heretic „and as having called the Godhead *Lord of glory*. The learned but uncritical Jesuit, John Garnier (see Tillemont's remarks in notes 71, 73, 74, 91 on S. Cyril of Alexandria, t. xiv. 780, 781, 792 sq. ed. 2) supposes this to be a reply (Marii Merc. opp. ii. pp. 29, 30. Par. 1673) to S. Proclus' famous homily on the Incarnation (Migne, Patrol. lxx. 679 sqq.), but I do not see any special mention of this point in S. Proclus' Homily. One would naturally expect S. Cyril to be the person referred to, but besides that S. Cyril immediately after disclaims the expression, a List of references to S. Cyril's extant citations of 1 Cor. ii. 8 (generously furnished me by the Dean of Chichester) do not supply any passage likely to be referred to by Nestorius. S. Cyril in his work against the Arians cites the text in proof that the SON is not less than the FATHER. „Making discourse of the princes of this world and the folly that is in them, he says, *For had they known they would not have crucified the Lord of glory.* Hence if the SON Who endured the cross for our sakes

is *Lord of glory*, how is He not God by Nature? how a creature or made, Who is even hymned by the Seraphin? for they say that *full is the heaven and the earth of His Glory*, and call Him *Lord of Sabaoth*: for it is clear that of Him are they saying this if He is *Lord of glory*, as Paul saith.” Thes. cap. 32 p. 272 a. Commenting on the whole passage (1 Cor. ii. 6—8) in reference to Nestorian errors, S. Cyril says, “If the *mystery of Christ* be *God's wisdom*, and it is preached to the world and if He is not truly God according to what somehow pleases some to imagine, and our faith is to Himward ; how is the *mystery* wise if it bear away them on the earth from the true knowledge of God and render the world worshipper of a man? But it is not so, the *mystery* is wise for it brings to God them that have strayed. Christ therefore is God, He that has been crucified is rightly called *Lord of glory*.” de recta fide to the princesses, p. 62 a. “Therefore the blessed Paul himself somewhere says of the rulers of this world, *For had they known, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory.* He knows then that the Crucified is *Lord of glory*.” de recta fide to the Empresses, § 31 p. 168 b c.

^h κοινωνεῖ τὰ λεγόμενα: below p. 167 S. Cyril has συνάδει τὰ λεγόμενα.

,, of weakness, who was it who was weak, heretic? God the BOOK V. 2.
 ,, Word?,,

He is carried away unto absurd thoughts and unto a § 2
 reprobate mind, in no wise understanding the force of the
 mystery, as seems to me, but rather every way following
 his own devices and haply afraid, lest he should be caught
 either thinking or saying ought that pertains to rightness
 or truth. For he arrays against himself, as he supposes,
 the words of the orthodox, but is caught again putting those
 things which no one of those who are wont to walk aright
 as to the Faith, would even so much as endure another
 saying. For we say that He which was crucified is *Lord*
of glory, and He is so of a truth: yet acknowledging that
 the Word of God is inseverable and one with the flesh united
 to Him having a reasonable soul, we say that He it is Who
 offered Himself, as it were the Immaculate Offering and
 most sweet-smelling Sacrifice of His Own Body, to God the
 Father, and nailed to the wood *the handwriting that was* Col. ii. 14.
against us. And one may hear Him say by the mouth of
 David, *Sacrifice and offering Thou wouldest not but a Body* Heb. x.
preparedst Thou Me, whole burnt sacrifices and for sin Thou 5-7,
tookest no pleasure in: then said I, Lo I come (in the volume from Ps.
of the book it has been written of Me) to do Thy Will, o God. xl. 6-8.
 The commandment according to the Law now availing
 nought⁹, and perfecting nothing, and God the Father ^{9 ἀπρα-}
 holding the sacrifices through blood unacceptable;—He ^{κτούσης}
 says that a Body has been prepared for Himself, in order
 that giving it¹ a Ransom for the salvation and life of all,
 He might redeem all, from both death and decay and yet
 more from sins.

We say then that the very Word out of God the Father
 chose even to suffer *for us in the flesh*, according to the 1 S. Pet.
 Scriptures: thus hath the most holy Paul instructed us, iv. 1.
Who being in the Form of God held not the being Equal Phil. ii.
with God a thing to seize¹, but emptied Himself taking ser- 6—9.

¹ ἀντὶ. I have corrected ἀντὶ without any scruple, the one being in some Mss. very much put for the other.

² ἀρπαγμὸν, a matter for robbery.

Liddell and Scott. I have used the translation of the former Editor of S. Chrysostom ad loc. in the Library of the Fathers, p. 63 O.T., where see note. S. Cyril

AG. NEST. *vant's form, made in likeness of man and found in fashion as a man, He humbled Himself and became obedient unto death, the death of the cross, wherefore God also highly exalted Him.* View now how He That is in the Form of God the Father as God, the Impress of His Person and in no wise falling short, being and being conceived of in Equality in everything, hath emptied Himself and brought Himself down of His own will unto lowliness.

What then (tell me) will be the mode of the emptying, how again has He been abased *receiving servant's form and made obedient unto death, the death of the Cross?* is it not clear to all that the High is abased, not that which from itself and of its own nature is in abasement and brought low; that (I suppose) is *emptied* which is full and in need of nought; *receives the servant's form* which before it was free by nature, He is found to be *man* too Who was not so, before He was so found when He was not? Who then is He That was High by Nature and abased Himself unto lowliness? who the full, that He may be conceived of as emptied? who He That is beyond the measures of bondage, that so He may be said to take *the bondman's form?* who that not being aforetime man as we is said to have been so *found?* For I suppose that to dare to allot this to one of those as we and to a common man, would be folly and verily replete with the uttermost of all unwit, but it will pertain with all reason to the Supreme Nature.

But the Word of God, of His exceeding Clemency and Kindness towards us, hath offered for us His own Body and having taken *the servant's form*, hath become *obedient* to God the Father *unto death*: and the choice to suffer in the Flesh, He made not a thing to be spurned, albeit by Nature Impassible as God. Yet does this man foolishly blush at His most God-befitting schemes for us, and thinking he honours Him, wrongs Him: for he bears Him away from the suffering, though no one else says that He suffers in

takes it exactly in the same way, "For in His Power to have it." Dial. 3 p.
He accounted not the being Equal 487 a.
with God a thing to seize, though it was

His own Nature; and does not perceive that he forbids BOOK V.2. Him to be confessed Saviour and Redeemer of all, if so be that he is son and lord other than He, separately and apart, through whom we have been saved and redeemed through the precious Cross. And if so be he be simply man, and not rather the Word out of God the Father appearing in human form, let him come, let him shew that he is both in the Form of the Father and in Equality with Him (for He *thought not the being equal with God a thing to seize*) and moreover that he took the *form of the servant* as at one time not possessing it, and came to be in emptiness, as possessing fulness in his own nature: for the Divine-uttering Paul says that He Who is in the Form and Equality with God the Father, was made obedient unto Him even *to death, the death of the Cross.*

Is not then the absurdity of their notions manifest? when blessed Paul calls Him that was crucified *Lord of glory*, no one will say, , He is not speaking of the human , nature but the Godhead., For we confess One Christ and Son and Lord of Glory, the Word out of God the Father made man for our sakes and suffering *for us in the flesh*, according to the Scriptures.

But he in no small measure blaming, as wishing to pluck asunder the accurate connection (as himself says), those who allot to God the Word the name of Lordship and bear it away from the human nature:—he falling into forgetfulness of what he said, is caught plucking asunder into two the One, and little recking of accurate (according to him) connection. For he unlearnedly enquires, „ Is the „ man too lord or not? if then he be lord, the things said „ harmonize., Hence if according to thy witless enquiry, the Word is Lord by Himself and the man lord, two surely are the lords and sons. The force then of accurate connection will in no wise profit them who have believed that one ought to conceive of One Christ and Son and Lord with the Flesh united to Him. For the Person of Immanuel being put and brought forward, though one should say man, we conceive of the Word out of God the Father

AG. NEST. having taken the servant's form and say that He is shewn by the measures of emptiness: and if [we say] Only-Begotten God, we believe the Same now Incarnate and made Flesh. But he (as I said) allotting to a man, individual and alone and considered apart from the Word Which is out of the Father, the achievements of the Economy with flesh, says that he too endured the cross for us and affirms that he is the Lord of glory, putting about a mere creature the glories of the Supreme Nature, for he says, „Let us hear the blessed Paul openly exclaiming who he „is that is crucified; for verily *He was crucified out of „weakness but He liveth out of the Power of God*: who is „weak o heretic, is it God the Word? „

2 Cor.
xiii. 4.

Ib. viii.
9.

S. John
vi. 48.
Ib. 33.

Ib. iv. 6.

Utterly imparticipate therefore of all weakness is the Word out of God the Father by us believed to be: for He is the Lord of Hosts. But tell me this, art thou afraid to admit the appellation of weakness in respect to Him? why? albeit the Economy with flesh puts Him apart from all blame, even though He be said to suffer ought of what is beside His own Nature and glory: for if being *Rich He became poor* and was made as we receiving servant's form, even though He should be said to be weak by reason of the human nature, there is nought repugnant, that you should see the Rich poor, the High in low estate, the Lord of Hosts in weakness as we. Marvellous on this account also is the mystery respecting Him. For how is He said also to hunger, albeit Himself *the Bread of Life* and Who came *down from Heaven and giveth Life to the world*? how was He *wearied with the journey*, Who stablisheth the Heavens with His own Spirit^k?

But thou wilt not endure (it seems) if one say these things of the Only-Begotten Himself, albeit investigating thine own words I find them clearly saying, as of the Person of the Only-Begotten,

„The form of God, I am clad in servant's form: being

^k Ps. xxxiii. 6. οἱ οὐρανοὶ ἐστερεώθησαν, καὶ τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ πάντα ἡ δύναμις αὐτῶν . . . were

the Heavens stablished and all their might by the Spirit of His Mouth.

„ God the Word, am seen in flesh : Lord of all, am clad BOOK V. 3.
 „ for your sakes in person of a poor man : hungering
 „ visibly¹, I supply food to the hungry.,, ¹ ὁρατῶς

How then, say, didst thou fearing the appellation of ^{§ 3}
 weakness and bearing it away from Him, albeit the plan
 of the economy will it not, say that He hungers visibly,
 i. e., humanly, yet Divinely supplies food to the hungry?
 dost thou not say that it is a form of weakness to be in
 need of food and to be said to hunger as we? but against
 them who desire to be fault-finders, full strong will the mode
 of the economy array itself. We must therefore, either
 bearing Him away from all things that are said humanly
 and in mean wise², put such passions about a mere man, ² μικρο-
 or considering that He being God has been made as we, ^{πρεπῶς}
 confess that He is impassible in respect of the Nature of ^{see p. 40}
 the Godhead, but say besides that He endured the weak- ^{note b.}
 ness in our behalf, according to the human nature and after
 the flesh, I mean. Since, tell me who ask thee again,
 The Divine-uttering Paul says that *He* has been *crucified*
out of weakness ; but dost thou bear away¹ this thing from
 God the Word, saying (I suppose) that it is small and ig-
 noble and not worthy of Him? Other therefore than He
 is he that was crucified, Whom also our Divine instructor
 calls *Lord of glory*, saying, *For had they known, they would* ¹ Cor. ii.
not have crucified the Lord of glory. Hath He then yet re- ^{8.}
 mained *Lord of Glory* Who put it aside and endured this
 ignoble and mean³ suffering? If therefore He hath re- ³ μικρο-
 mained so, neither hath He any loss through being weak. ^{πρεπῆς}
 How then fearedst thou to say that the Word of God came
 to be in this case economically? But if He truly fell from
 being any longer *Lord of glory*, and any one affirm that it
 is so, he will incur the charge of the most utter blasphemy
 and that with reason : for to Him boweth *every knee and* ^{Phil. ii.}
every tongue shall confess Lord Jesus Christ, to the glory of ^{10, 11.}
God the Father. For over all that is under Heaven extend-
 eth the glory of Christ Who *suffered for us in the flesh*, as ¹ S. Pet.
 iv. 1.

¹ I have translated ἀποφέρει as if it were ἀποφέρεις, the sense appearing to call for this emendation.

AG. NEST. we have full often said. When therefore thou hearest the
 2 Cor. Spirit-clad saying, *He was crucified out of weakness but He*
 xiii. 4. *liveth of the Power of God*, understand it piously: for he
 says that He hath suffered humanly, albeit He hath a nature
 utterly beyond passion. And so having, He bare with
 the weak flesh and having suffered death humanly, He
 lived again Divinely, Himself quickening His own Temple,
 as the Might of the Father.

And verily when the time was now at hand in which He
 S. Matt. must endure the Cross for us, *He went away and prayed*
 xxvi. 42. *saying, Father if it be possible, let this cup pass from Me*,
 Il. 39. but added hereto at the close of His Prayer, *Nevertheless*
 Ib. *not as I will but as THOU*. But since He albeit Word and
 God all-Powerful, has once been held to be in weakness
 like we, He giving the cause of this most economically,
 Ib. 41. says, *The spirit indeed is willing, the flesh weak*. Consider
 therefore how He though Himself letting go nought, nor yet
 suffering weakness in His own Nature, permitted His Flesh
 to go after its own laws, and this thing is said to be His,
 because His Body is His own. Hence the being weak
 according to the Flesh proved to us that He was Man, the
 not enduring death and scaring away decay from His own
 Body that He is God Who knows not to be weak: for He is
 the Life and Might of the Father. For that the weakness
 herein unwonted and unwilled by Him^m, He made voluntary
 in the good-pleasure of God the Father, to save all under
 S. John Heaven, Himself will teach saying, *For I have come down*
 vi. 38. *from Heaven, not to do Mine own Will but the Will of Him*
 Ib. 39. *That sent Me, that of all which He hath given Me I should*
lose nothing but should raise it up at the last day.

Yet how, if the will of the Father be good, does the
 Son say that He has His *own Will*, a good one surely, and
 other than this? For if it be not good, how is He any
 longer believed to be His Image and Impress? how will
 Ib x. 30. He be true, saying, *I and the Father are One*, and, *He that*
 Ib. xiv. 9. *hath seen Me hath seen the Father*? for not in the not good,
 would one behold the Good by Nature. But verily the

^m See also S. Cyril's commentary on these verses of S. John, book 4 beg. pp. 383 sqq. O.T.

Son being Good hath sprung from a Good Father and is BOOK V. 3. His exact Image in everything. What Will therefore, which He says is His own, does He letting go, say that He hath done that of the Father? He was about by the death of His own Flesh to set free from death those who had become subject thereto, i. e., us. But to die in the Flesh was ignoble, and unwonted (as I said) and repugnant to Him: yet hath He endured this too for our sakes in the Good-pleasure of the Father. For He knew, He knew and that well that a little dishonoured by reason of the sufferings of the Flesh He should save all, transforming them unto what was incomparably better. For *if any be in* 2 Cor. v. 17. *Christ, a new creature, old things are gone by, behold all things have become new, as it is written.*

The God-inspired Scriptures therefore proclaim to the world One Christ and Son and Lord and say that He is the Lord of Glory and that He of His own Will bare for our sakes the contumelies of the Jews, and economically endured Death upon the wood, not in order with us to remain dead, but that having undone the might of death which none might withstand, He might bring again to immortality the nature of man: for He was God in Flesh.

But this man again essaying to gather to himself from all quarters occasions of severing into two the One, arrays himself to no purpose against those who exist not at all, and makes accusal of certain as though they spake against the truth and desired to adulterate the plan of the mystery, and says,

„Here ⁿ I would gladly enquire of the heretics who mix see close of extract at p. 110.
 „up into one essence the Nature of the Godhead and of
 „the Manhood, who he is here who is by the traitor be-
 „trayed to the Jews: for if there have been a mixture of
 „both, both were together holden of the Jews, both God
 „the Word and the nature of the manhood: which is it
 „that endured the slaughter? I am obliged to use meaner ⁴ κατωτέ-
ροις

ⁿ This is given also by Mercator, among his collection of extracts made by S. Cyril, with the title, *Also in the sixth quire of the same, on Judas, against the heretics.* p. 116 Bal. Mercator's extract is much ampler, comprising as well the heading of § 7 of book 4 (above p. 153) and a little more.

AG. NEST. „ words that what I say may be plain to all. To whom
 „ (tell me) befell this deed? for if the Nature of the God-
 „ head, how dardest thou commingle both? God^o hath both
 „ remained unholden of the Jews and hath not shared
 „ with the flesh in its slaughter: whence (tell me) dost
 „ thou get in the mixture?

§ 4 If then there be who say that there has been a com-
 mingling of the natures one with another and that they
 undergo an impossible fusion, and who maintain that the
 Nature of the Word could suffer change into flesh, or the
 Flesh united to Him ever pass into Godhead; they have
 erred from the truth and, out of their right mind, yea ra-
 ther sick with the veriest distraction, they shall hear from

S. Matth. us, *Ye do err not knowing the Scriptures nor the Power of*
 xxii. 29. *God*; for steadfast is the Nature of God the Word, nor

S. James knows it to suffer a *shadow of turning*, but participate in
 i. 17. *flesh and blood* and taking part with us *in the same*, as it
 Heb. ii. 14. is written, He abode the Same. But if every one who is

educated in the Holy Scriptures holds it repugnant to so
 much as hear that any change was wrought in the Only-
 Begotten, why dost thou admitting as true and really
 spoken things so disgraceful and condemned by one voice
 by all and utterly rejected, essay to sever the Indivisible
 and that after the Union? For if thou wouldest indeed
 of a truth learn who it is who is by the traitor given up to
 the Jews, and endured slaughter, thou wilt clearly hear,
 The One and Only Christ and Son and Lord, that is the
 Word out of God Who took the servant's form, made man
 and Incarnate: for He was sold by the traitor to the rulers
 of the Jews, and was holden humanly, because He was Man
 too along with abiding God, but Divinely He was convict-
 ing the weakness of them who hold Him. And this the
 Divine-uttering Evangelist John makes manifest to us,
 thus writing, *Judas therefore having received the band and*
 S. John xviii. 3-6. *officers from the chief priests and Pharisees cometh thither*

° The one Greek MS now extant has
καὶ μεμύνηκεν ὁ θεός, the Roman Edi-
 tors conjecture *εἰ μεμύνηκε*, but Mercat-
 or translates, *Is therefore the Word of*

God, Who has no participation in the
slaughter of His flesh, capable of being
apprehended and led to slaughter by the
Jews?

with torches and lanterns and weapons; Jesus knowing all BOOK V. 4. things that were coming upon Him, went forth and said unto them, Whom seek ye? they answered Him, Jesus of Nazareth. Jesus saith unto them, I am. And Judas which betrayed Him was standing with them. When therefore He said unto them, I am, they went backward and fell to the ground. Hearest thou that He does not let them who have been gathered together by the traitor behave themselves proudly against His Glory? for He offered Himself saying, I am, but they unstrung by the voice alone, went backward.

And that it was no work of their own strength to hold Him, but that in his season and in need He made death for us welcome, He hath proved saying, *As a robber came ye forth with swords and staves to take Me? daily did I sit in the Temple teaching, and ye laid no hold on Me, but all this has been done that the Scriptures of the Prophets might be fulfilled.* For what He hath of old foretold through the holy Prophets, this hath He fulfilled, abasing Himself unto emptiness Who is above all the creation, and found in fashion as a man Who is in the Form and Equality with the Father.

Why then dost thou, essaying to bring in privily the name of mixture, wrong in the ears of the more simple the marvel of the economy with flesh? for it does not benefit thee bitterly and harshly to come forward saying, „Was „God the Word holden? did the nature of the Godhead „undergo slaughter? „That of no accurate . . . ^p thou art saying such things, thou wilt know hence and that easily. We say that the holy Martyrs have been perfected, choosing to suffer all things in order that having *striven* 2 Tim. iv. *the good strife, finished their course, kept the faith, they* ^{7.} might bind on them the crown of true relationship ⁵ to Christ. If then any were to come forward and ask, When the bodies of the saints were torn by the steel or wasted by fire or again when they first became prisoners, were

S. Matth.
xxvi. 55,
56.

⁵ γνησιότητος

^p ὅτι οὐκ ἐξ ἀκριβοῦς ἀμαθίας. So reads the MS. The Roman Editors annotate Videtur tollenda negatio; but I should rather have inclined to suppose that

either ἀμαθίας is an error, or that some words have dropped out; e. g. ὅτι οὐκ ἐξ ἀκριβοῦς συνέσεως ἀλλ' ἀμαθίας.

AG. NEST. their souls holden along with their bodies? did they too become the work of fire and sword? albeit we say that they [the souls] were apart from their bodies, enduring nought of such contumelies in their own nature. Will they therefore (tell me) be for this reason imparticipate of the crowns, because they have not suffered the things of the body? But verily the word of truth does not put them apart from suffering, for they suffered the things of their own, not those of others' bodies.

Unlearned then is it to want to ask whether the nature of the Godhead have been betrayed along with the flesh, or whether It were holden in the meshes of the Jews or endured the slaughter also: but it is pious to conceive rather that the Word will surely and entirely make His own the sufferings that have befallen His own Flesh, but abode Impassible as God yet not external⁶ to His suffering Body⁹. But he involving in charges of absurdity the things so economically wrought, and again and again saying that the Nature of the Godhead ought not to be said by any to have undergone slaughter, unholily arrays the force of the Mystery about a man by himself⁷, and says that he it is who was crucified and endured death for the life of the world. For I hear him saying in another exposition of his,

serm. 2 p.
64. Bal.
see above
p. 69.
S. Matt.
xxvii. 46.

„ This is he who was encircled in the thorny Crown, this
„ he who saith, *My God, My God why forsookest Thou Me?*
„ this he who endured a three days' death. „

§ 5 Such things then doth he say, following his own aim, but we will shew him a wiser and truer Emmanuel, the whole world's Saviour and Redeemer. For *the Word*, as we have full often said, *was made flesh*, and making His own, a Body which knew to suffer contumelies and death,

S. John
i. 14.

“⁹ How therefore is Life said to die? by suffering death in Its own flesh, in order that It may be shewn to be life by quickening it again. For come if in regard even to our own selves the mode of death be searched into, no one who deems aright would say that souls perish along with the bodies that are of earth. I suppose that no living person would

hesitate as to this. Yet is what happens called the death of man. Thus you will conceive of as to Emmanuel too. For the Word was in him that is of a woman as in His own Body, and He gave it to death in due time, Himself suffering nought in His proper Nature.”
Letter 1 to the Monks, Epp. p. 17 d e.

He hath given it for us and, as the Divine-uttering Paul BOOK V. 5. saith, *endured the cross, despising the shame.* For was it Heb. xii. not shame and a sort of abashment^s to Him that hath a 2. 8. ἐντροπή Nature All-Strong and Quickening and above suffering, to seem to be crucified out of human weakness and to come to death after the flesh? And verily the Same saith through the voice of Isaiah, *My Back I have given to* Isa. l. 6. *scourges, My Cheeks to blows, My Face turned I not away from the shame of spittings,* and again, *Therefore was I not* Ib. 7, 8. *confounded, but I set My Face as a firm rock and I know that I shall not be ashamed, for He is near that justifieth Me.* For as far as regards the impious multitudes of the Greeks and also of the Jews, the Mystery of Christ is reputed a 1 Cor. i. 23. *stumbling block* alike and *foolishness*, for they deride (miserable ones!) the Precious Cross; but the end of the weakness (as it seemed to them) resulted in might of glory most truly God-befitting. For through the Resurrection from the dead it has been testified that He is God and Son of God in truth, as superior to death and decay, and is worshipped by all together with Him Who begat Him.

And hear the sacred Scriptures proclaiming to us this very thing: *Thus saith the Lord, Sanctify Him That holdeth* Isa. xlix. 7. *light⁹ His Soul, Him that is abhorred by the nations, the ser-* 7. 9. φαυλίζο- ντα *vants, the rulers: kings shall see Him and princes shall rise up and worship Him.* Confess (it said) that He is Holy by Nature as God, Who held cheaply His own Soul, i. e., despised His own life (for He hath *laid it down for His sheep*, as Good Shepherd): Him Whom the nations vilely esteemed, servants and officers insulted with blows, while the S. John x. 11. multitudes of the Pharisees impiously outraged Him, *Him* S. Mark xiv. 65. *shall kings see and rise up, Him shall princes worship*, as God, that is, who descended into emptiness, in order that suffering in the flesh, He might save all under Heaven. This is He Who for us was encircled with the Thorny Crown, this, not another, He Who as Man is crucified and says, *My God My God why forsookest Thou Me?* yet S. Matt. xxvii. 46. who restrains as God the Light of the sun, and makes it night in mid-day that we should not confess Him Man,

AG. NEST. simply honoured with mere connection (according to thee) with the Word I mean That is out of God, but should believe rather that He is God, in likeness as we, and in servant's form, remembering Him Who saith by a Saint's

Isa. 1. 3. voice, *And I will clothe the Heavens with darkness, and I*
 Ib. lii. 6. *will make their covering as sackcloth.* For *He Who speak-*
 LXX. *eth is at hand*, and what He of old hath as God foresignified would be, He in due season was fulfilling, crucified as Man. For the Heaven put on darkness, all but a mourning dress, the sun no longer giving the brightness of its rays to them who had durst outrage the Lord and God of all, hath foresignified the darkness which they should have in mind and heart. For the blessed David too sings somewhere of

Ps. lxi. 23. *them, Let their eyes be darkened that they see not and bow down their back away.* And the veil too of the Temple was rent, revealing now to those who believe on Him the holy of holies and shewing the most inward parts, *the first tabernacle* no longer standing, but *the way into the holy* now made manifest, that is into the holy of holies. For holy confessedly was the Law too, in that it was the furnisher¹ of righteousness, our guide too unto Christ: yet incomparably holier is the life in Christ esteemed, and more excellent and in better case the worship in spirit and in truth than that in shadows and types. Will not such achievements then be God-befitting and above the nature of man? hath not the saving Passion shamed the *waving*²

² στρεφ-
ομένην,
Gen. iii.
24.
S. Luke
xxiii. 43.
Isa. xlix.
9.

sword, brought man again into Paradise? for Christ said to the robber who hung with Him, *Today shalt thou be with Me in Paradise*: beamed He not on them that were in darkness, uttering with authority, *Shew yourselves*? For He has emptied Hell as God, and loosed from their bonds those who were in it: and He it was Who of old crieth out to the most enduring Job, *Camest thou into the springs of the sea? walkedst thou in the tracks of the depth? are the gates of death open to thee in fear [of thee]? did the doorkeepers of hell seeing thee tremble?*

Wherefore then blushest thou not allotting things that are yet God-befitting to one as we and to a mere man?

For that the Word of God Himself, taking servant's form, BOOK V. 5. participate in flesh and blood, endured to give His own Body to death for our sakes and, being Impassible by Nature, suffered in the Flesh of His own will, the all-wise Paul will give us proof, writing, *Giving thanks unto the Father Which made us meet to be partakers of the lot of the saints in light, Who delivered us from the authority of darkness and translated us into the kingdom of the Son of His Love, in Whom we have redemption, the forgiveness of sins, Who is the Image of the Invisible God, the firstborn of every creature ; for in Him were created all things in Heaven and upon earth, visible and invisible, whether thrones or lordships or principalities or authorities, all things were created through Him and unto Him, and He is before all things and in Him all things consist, and He is the Head of the body, the Church, Who is the beginning, the firstborn from the dead, that in all things He might have the preeminence.* See now the Priest of His Mysteries said and that very clearly that the Very God the Word, through Whom are all things and in Whom are all things, *Who is the Image of the Invisible God ; He through Whom were brought into being both the things which are in Heaven and those on earth, the visible and invisible ; He Who is before all things, in Whom all things consist ; has been given as Head to the Church, and is Himself the firstborn from the dead.* Col. i. 12—18.

But (you will perhaps say) the Word out of God the Father is by Nature Life ; how then or in what way might Life die ? well : necessary and useful is your question. see above p. 174 note q. Therefore unto the force of the mystery is serviceably taken, that we conceive and say that the ever-living and Life-giving Word of God was made Flesh, i. e., made His own a Body recipient of death, that Himself might be conceived to suffer, because His Very own Body suffered. For thus do we say that He became the *firstfruits of them that slept, and the firstborn from the dead* : for He is said to have been laid with us in a tomb through His own flesh, Who raiseth the dead, that we too might be co-raised with Him : for this way did He inaugurate for us and for this 1 Cor. xv. 20. Heb. x. 20.

AG. NEST. hath He humbled Himself, abasing Himself unto emptiness and unto manhood with us ; albeit the Only-Begotten is God by Nature and beamed from God the Father.

But he thinks (it seems) that they who suppose that these things are so, and who deem aright, have advanced to the goal of the uttermost distraction ; and everywhere alleging that we ought to confess the Word out of God the Father to be Impassible, he removes from Him and that utterly the mode of His Economy : and thinks it not meet either to think or say that He suffered for us, albeit the God-inspired Scripture says that He suffered in the Flesh, He both Impassible and Unembodied, because the Body suffered that is His own and united to Him. He says again thus,

1 S. Pet.
iv. 1.

Acts ii.
32.

S. Luke
xxiv. 39.

p. 59 Bal.

Acts ii.
32, 33.

§ 6

S. John
xi. 25.

„ Therefore concerning our first-fruits, blessed Peter telling, and relating the exaltation by the Godhead of the „ nature that is seen, says, *This Jesus God raised up*. God „ did not die, He *raised up*. Hear, o Apolinarius, the „ words of Peter, hear with Apolinarius, thou too Arius. „ *This Jesus*, he says, *God raised up*, the visible, him who „ was seen with the eyes, affixed to the wood, handled by „ the hands of Thomas, who cried to him, *Handle Me, for* „ *a spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see Me have*. And „ by these words the disciple persuaded, and by the handling of the crucified body persuaded of the resurrection, „ began to glorify the wonder-working God, Glory to „ Thee^r, my Lord and my God : not addressing as God „ that which was handled, for not by handling is the God- „ head discerned. „ And after other, „ Of this that was „ handled was Peter too exclaiming, *This Jesus God raised* „ *up, being therefore by the Right Hand of God exalted*. God „ the Word had no need of an aiding right hand, o Arius.,

The Son raiseth up the dead and we say that He is superior to death, for we remember Him Who hath openly said, *I am the Resurrection and the Life* : yet when the Di-

^r The words *Glory to Thee*, seem to be a gloss, they are not in the Latin translation of Nestorius' Homily 2. p. 58 ed.

Baluz., nor does S. Cyril cite them in his comment a little below, when citing this portion of Nestorius' words.

vine-uttering Peter announces to us saying, *This Jesus God* BOOK v. 6.
raised up, we believe that the Word made man is Jesus
Himself. How then will one say that He has been raised
by the Father and exalted by His Right Hand? for I think
that this should be clearly set forth to those who cannot
understand, in order that cutting off occasion of stumbling,
we may set forth the way of truth straight and most un-
erring.

He gave therefore His own Body to death for a little
while: for *by the grace of God*, as Paul saith, *He tasted death* Heb. ii. 9.
for every man. Then being Himself the Life-giving Right
Hand and Power of God the Father, He rendered it supe-
rior to decay and death: and of this He gives us assurance
saying to the Jews, *Destroy this Temple and in three days* S. John ii. 19.
I will raise it up. Understand therefore that Himself pro-
mises to rear His own Temple, albeit God the Father is said
to raise it: for the Son is, as I said, the Life-giving Right
Hand and Power of the Father. So that even though the
Father be said to work the quickening of the Divine Tem-
ple, He hath wrought it through the Son, and though the
Son again be seen to work it, yet not without the Father in
the Spirit. For One is the Nature of Godhead, conceived
of in three several Persons, and having Its motion and
Operation, spiritual I mean and God-befitting, in regard
to all things that are done. see above,
pp. 127
and note
b, 135 and
note g.

The body therefore yielded to the laws of its own nature,
and admitted the taste of death, the Word united thereto
permitting it for profit's sake to suffer this: but was quick-
ened by the Divine power of the Word Personally united to
it. We conceive then of Whole *Emmanuel, which is inter-* S. Matth. i. 23.
preted, With us is God, when we hear the Divine-uttering
Peter say, *This Jesus God raised up*; and though thou
speak of the visible and affixed to the wood, of „him who
„was handled by the hands of Thomas, „no less do we con-
ceive of the Word out of God the Father Incarnate, and
confess One and the Same Son. For being Invisible by
Nature He hath become visible, because His too was the vi-
sible Body. And verily the Divine David sings to us, *God* Ps. 1. 2,
3.

AG. NEST. *shall come manifestly, our God and shall not keep silence,*
 Hab. iii. *and moreover the blessed Habaccuc, God shall come from*
 3. *Temam and the Holy One from the deep-shaded mountain.*
 He being also Impalpable is said to have become palpable
 by reason of the Body united to Him. And Luke writes,
 S. Luke i. *Since many essayed to set forth in order an account of*
 1, 2. *those things which have been most surely believed among us,*
even as they handed them to us which from the beginning
were eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word, and to this
 1 S. John *the wise John saith, That which was from the beginning,*
 i. 1, 2. *which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes,*
which we looked on and our hands handled, of the Word
of Life, and the Life was manifested and we have seen and
bear witness and declare to you the eternal life which was
with the Father and was manifested to us. Yet had He
 not become palpable and visible, as having for His own
 a Body which is subject to touch and sight, how had the
 all-wise disciples been made *eye-witnesses of the Word?*
 how had they both seen, and say that they handled *the*
Word of Life, Which was with the Father and was mani-
fested to us? This very Same therefore Which was both
 palpable and visible, Which was affixed to the wood,
 Thomas recognized and did rightly confess to be God and
 Lord: for he said immediately, *My Lord and my God.*
 S. John Then said to him our Lord Jesus Christ, *Because thou hast*
 xx. 28. *seen Me, thou hast believed, blessed they which have not seen*
 1b. 29. *and believed.* Believed what, tell me? is it not that being
 God by Nature, He raised from the dead His own Tem-
 ple? yet how could there be any doubt of this?

But this good man, all but foolishly ashamed of the
 words of the disciple, says not, 'He confessed Him that
 'He is both Lord and God, *the Firstborn from the dead:*'
 but rather he perverts to his own pleasure the force of
 the word and says that he „began to glorify the wonder-
 „working God, saying, *My Lord and my God,* „and sub-
 joins, „Not addressing us God that which was handled,
 „for not by the touch is the Godhead discerned.,,

Blamest thou therefore (tell me) the disciple calling

Christ Lord and God? though our argument has but just BOOK V. 6. now shewn that the Only Begotten being by Nature God, Impalpable and Invisible, became palpable and visible. But when thou sayest, „for not by the touch is the God-„head discerned,„ we again will say, Why dost thou, thrusting aside the Economy discourse of Godhead as though bare³? and rushing full speed to forgetfulness that ³ γυμνῆς, *unclad in flesh* the Impalpable and Unembodied was both Incarnate and made Man, endurest not the God-inspired Scripture naming Him God, because that He had been both handled in flesh and likewise seen of the holy Apostles? But we, my friend, together with blessed Thomas, crowning with the praises befitting Him, Him That was affixed to the wood, Him That was handled by hands and seen of human eyes, say, *My Lord and my God.*

But that though a man should say that the Word of God suffered in His own Flesh, he would not be without share in being praise-worthy nor in having chosen to think the truth (for even thus hath He abode Impassible): I will essay to shew again from what thyself hast written or saidst in Church. For thou deemest worthy of praise our holy Fathers, those (I mean) who were in their season gathered together at Nicea, as having formed full well for us an accurate and finished ⁴ confession of faith: yet thou ⁴ τετορνευμένην *thinkest not what they do (whence should'st thou?) nor yet fixing thy mind on the doctrines of the truth, dost thou long to go straight, but haltest on both thighs, as it is* ^{1 Kings x ii. 21.} written: foolishly blaming the lovers of right doctrine, yet holding for truth what liketh thyself, yea rather not even caring to abide in what thyself saidst, for I find thee saying of the holy fathers,

„For since if they had said, We believe in One God the „Word, death would have been imputed to the Divine „Nature, they admit a common term, Christ Jesus, that „they may indicate both Him That died, and him that did „not die.„ And he adds, „So that if a man should say, „Such an one is dead, though the soul is immortal, yet

AG. NEST. „ since he said the word which indicates the two natures,
 „ both the mortal body and the immortal soul, the expres-
 „ sion is free from risk : for both are called man, both the
 „ body and the soul : thus it is therefore that that great
⁵ *χρὸς* „ band ⁵ spake of Christ. „

§ 7

That in naming Christ Jesus, they did not indicate two
 several sons, having a common name, Christ Jesus, but ra-
 ther the Word out of God made Man, I think no one that
 deems aright will gainsay, and I think it superfluous for us
 to yet array many words on this matter besides what have
 been already said. Yet if thou be not persuaded by our
 words to think that though we say that the Word of God
 hath suffered in the Flesh for our sakes, we hold Him even
 thus Impassible as God, at least allow to thine own words
 that they appear to have been rightly framed. For just as
 he who said *man*, indicated the soul together with the
 body although it be of other nature than it; and even
 though such an one's body were said to be dead, the
 whole ⁶ person would reasonably be held to have suffered
 this, albeit he possess a soul which is not recipient of
 death : so of Christ too the Saviour of us all. For since
 the Word out of God the Father (as we have repeatedly
 said) hath partaken of blood and flesh in like manner as
 we, and made His own the Body that is of the holy Virgin
 and has thus been called Son of man too ; for this reason
 when His Flesh died, the plan ⁷ of true union attributes
 the suffering to Him, yet knows that He hath remained
 apart from suffering because He is both God by Nature and
 Life. And verily the Divine-uttering Peter setting before
 us this teaching says of Him somewhere to them that be-
 lieve on Him, *Whom having not seen ye love, on Whom,*
though now ye see Him not, yet believing, ye exult with joy
unutterable and glorified, receiving the fulfilment of your faith,
the salvation of your souls, of which salvation the prophets
searched out and examined into, who prophesied of the grace to
youward, searching what or what manner of time the Spirit
of Christ Which was in them was signifying, when It testified
beforehand the sufferings of Christ and the glory that should

see above
 p. 174
 note q.

⁶ *ὅλος*

⁷ *ἁπόθεν*

¹ S. Peter
 i. 8—12.

follow, unto whom it was revealed that not unto themselves BOOK v. 7.
but to us they were ministering the things which are now
declared unto us through them that preached the Gospel unto
us with the Holy Ghost sent down from Heaven : which things
the Angels long to look into.

• Hearst thou that the Spirit of Christ was in the holy
 Prophets too, and that they proclaimed beforehand *the*
sufferings of Christ and the glory that should follow? Did
 they then proclaim to the world as though a mere man
 were suffering for us? and is this the mystery which through
 our holy Apostles and Evangelists hath been given in trust,
 and into these things does he say that *the Angels long to*
look? yet how is not he to be utterly repudiated who es-
 says to shut up the might of the mystery within the limits
 of the human nature alone? God the Word Himself, Who
 is in the Form of God the Father, hath *emptied Himself* Phil. ii. 7.
 taking *servant's form* and hath undergone birth in the flesh
 for our sakes, Himself hath suffered for us in His own Flesh,
 and He lived again as God, having emptied Hades and
 said to them that were in bonds, *Come forth, and to them that* Isa. xlix. 9.
were in darkness, Shew yourselves. Why then essayest thou
 to overturn the so dread and marvellous economy through
 which we have been both saved and have been brought
 within all good? for what we gained through it, thou wilt
 know and that very clearly, since blessed Paul hath thus
 written, *And you that were sometime alienated and enemies* Col. i. 21—23.
in your mind in wicked works, yet now hath He reconciled in
the body of His flesh through death to present you holy and
unblameable and unreprouceable in His sight if so be ye en-
dure in the Faith. Therefore the faith profits them who
 will hold it unshaken; how it profits, the all-wise John
 will assure us saying, *Who is he that overcometh the world* 1 S. John v. 5, 6.
but he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God? This is
He that came through water and blood, Jesus Christ, not in
water only, but in water and blood, and the Spirit^s is Truth ;
for three testify, the Spirit, the water and the Blood, and the Ib. 8—10.

^s The words *beareth witness because the Spirit* are omitted in the one MS. which preserves us these books, probably through a very common carelessness of scribe.

AG. NEST. *Three are One. If we receive the witness of men, the witness of God is greater, for this is the witness of God, because He hath witnessed concerning His Son: he that believeth on the Son of God hath the witness in himself, he that believeth not God hath made him a liar, because he believed not the testimony which He hath testified regarding His Son. And how God the Father hath testified to His Son, the Divine-utter-*

S. John i. 33, 34. *ing John the Baptist will declare saying, And I knew Him not, but He That sent me to baptize with water, He said to me, Upon Whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending and remaining upon Him, This is He Which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost. And I saw and have testified that This is the Son of God. Our Lord Jesus Christ therefore is witnessed to through the Father's Voice, that He is by Nature and in truth His Son, He is witnessed to no less through the water and the Blood and the Spirit. For by the holy water He purgeth away the sins of them that believe, He quickeneth through His own Blood and connecteth to God them on the earth: and since He is God by Nature He maketh also richly the grant of the Holy Ghost, pouring It forth as His own into the hearts of them who believe, and making them partakers of the Divine Nature, and crowning them with the hope of the good things to come.*

above pp. 19 note k, 83 note g.

2 S. Pet. i. 4.

We confess therefore One Son, Christ Jesus the Lord, that is, the Word of God made Man and Incarnate and Him crucified and raised from the dead and to come in due time in the Glory of God the Father with the holy Angels; through Him and with Him to God the Father be glory with the Holy Ghost for ever. Amen.

Christ signifies an anointing or setting apart to some work.

S. CYRIL

BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA

SCHOLIA

ON

THE INCARNATION OF THE ONLY-BEGOTTEN.

What is Christ?

§ 1

THE name Christ hath neither the force of a definition, nor does it denote the essence of any of what kind it is, as for example a man or a horse or an ox, but it rather makes declaration of a thing wrought. For some of them of old were anointed with oil, as then pleased God, and the anointing was a token¹ to them of kingdom: Prophets too were¹ σὺνθρημα spiritually anointed with the Holy Ghost, so as thence too to be named christs (and^a the blessed David sings in the Person of God and says, *Touch not Mine anointed and do* Ps. cv. 15. *My Prophets no harm*: the Prophet Habuccuc too says, *Thou wentest forth for the salvation of Thy people, to save* Hab. iii. *Thy christs*): but in regard of Christ the Saviour of all we^{15.} LXX. say that an anointing took place, yet neither symbolic, as though done with oil, nor as for the grace of Prophet's office, nor yet that which is understood as in destination² for² προχει- the achievement of ought, such as we say took place in the ρίξεσθαι case of Cyrus, who reigned over the Persians and Medes, for he led an army against the land of the Babylonians, God Almighty over all instigating him thereto. For it was said, *Thus saith the LORD to Cyrus My christ, whose right* Isa. xlv. *hand I held*. Albeit the man was an idolater, he was called^{1.} see above christ, by reason of being as it were anointed king by the p. 57. decree from above and fore-ordained by God to mightily

^a See Ep. 1 to the Monks, pp. 6 e, 7, 10.

SCHOLIA subdue the land of the Babylonians :—but this rather do we say ^b.

Rom. v. 14. Since on account of the transgression in Adam, *sin hath reigned against all*, and then the Holy Ghost fled away from the human nature and it came therefore to be in all ill, and it needed that by the Mercy of God, it mounting up to its pristine condition should be accounted worthy of the Spirit :—the Only-Begotten Word of God became Man, and appeared to them on earth with Body of earth, and was made free from sin, that in Him Alone the nature of man crowned with the glories of sinlessness, should be rich in the Holy Ghost, and thus be re-formed unto God through holiness : for thus does the grace pass through to us too, having for its beginning Christ the First-born among us. And therefore does the blessed David teaching

Ps. xlv. 7. us sing to the Son, *Thou lovedst righteousness and hatedst wickedness, therefore God, Thy God anointed Thee with the oil of gladness.*

The Son therefore has been anointed like us in human wise ^c with the praises of sinlessness, as I said: the nature of man having in Him been made illustrious and now become worthy of partaking of the Holy Ghost, no more departing, as at the beginning, but delighting to dwell ³ therein. Wherefore it is also written that the Spirit soared down upon Christ *and hath abode upon Him*. Christ therefore is the Word of God called Who because of us and as we is Man and in servant's form: both anointed as Man after the Flesh, and anointing Divinely with His own Spirit them that believe on Him.

³ ἐμφιλο-
χωροῦν-
τος

S. John i.
32.

§ 2

How we must understand Emmanuel.

Heb. ii. 16. Ib. 14. God the Word is named Emmanuel, because He *laid hold of the seed of Abraham* and like us *partook of flesh and blood*. Now Emmanuel is interpreted, *With us is God*. But we confess that the Word of God was *with us*, not

^b The Latin translation of Marius Mercator here adds (to fill up the sense) *de christo, of christ*, which is not in the

Greek or Syriac.

^c ἀνθρωπίνως, and so Syr. The Lat. version omits this word.

EMMANUEL aided *them of old, is with us as God and Man.* 187

locally (for in what place is God not, Who fills all things?) § 2.
nor because He is seen to come to us by way of aid (for
thus was it said to Jesus, *As I was with Moses, so I will be with thee too*), but because He was made in our condition,
i. e. in human nature, without forsaking His own Nature,
for the Word of God is Unchangeable in Nature.

But why was it, when it was said to Jesus, *As I was with Moses, so I will be with thee*, that he was nevertheless not called Emmanuel? this is the reason, even though He be said to be with any of the saints. We therefore say that He God the Word became with us, at that time of which Baruch says, *He did shew Himself upon earth and conversed with men, and found out all the way of instruction and gave it to Jacob His servant and to Israel His beloved, for He is our God and there shall none other be accounted of in comparison with Him.* As far then as pertained to His being God by Nature, He was not with us; for incomparable is the difference between Godhead and manhood and exceeding great the difference of the natures. Bar. iii. 37.
Ib. 36.
Ib. 35.
above p. 61.

And therefore was the Divine David calling to Mystic relationship God the Word Who had not as yet come to us and saying in spirit, *Why hast Thou departed far from us, O Lord, despisest us in season in tribulation?* Therefore He departed not^d from us, but was with us, Who while He remained what He was, took hold of the seed of Abraham, as I said; received moreover the form of a servant, and was beheld as Man upon the earth. Ps. x. 1.

But Christ and Emmanuel signify to us the Same Son, the one, because He was anointed as we in human wise, receiving the Spirit for the nature of man in Himself first (for He is set forth as the first beginning⁴ of the race), ⁴ ἀρχή

^d In his first Paschal homily, some fifteen years before (A. D. 414) S. Cyril had quoted this verse and explained it, "For the Saviour having not yet assumed our likeness, was departed far from us, as regards the plan of the Incarnation: since much is the interval between the nature of man and that of God the Word: for of us says one of the saints, I am earth and ashes, of the Being of the

Only-Begotten the prophet Isaiah says, *who shall declare His Generation?* Seasonably therefore on us in our much affliction beamed the Saviour *made of a woman* after the flesh, in order to save man who is out of woman, and that, loosing him from the bonds of death, He might teach him to say rejoicing, *where thy victory death, where thy sting o grave?*" Hom. Pasch. i. pp. 4 e 5 a.

SCHOLIA Himself again anointing, as God, with the Holy Ghost those who believe in Him; the other, because He was with us in the way I have explained, whereof the Prophet Isaiah tells us saying, *Behold a Virgin shall conceive and bear a Son and shall call His Name Immanuel.* For when the holy Virgin conceived out of the Holy Ghost, but bare according to the flesh a Son, then too was He called Emmanuel; for the Incorporeal was with us by carnal birth, and that took place which was told by David, *God shall appear openly, our God and shall not be silent*, and that (I deem), *I Who speak am at hand.* For the Word spake through the Prophets as yet Unembodied, He came Embodied.

§ 3

What is Jesus.

S. Matt. i. 21. By the force of the ideas^e whereby we are bound to speak of One Son of God, Christ and Emmanuel and Jesus are the Same, and this name too from the fact, *for He shall save* (it says) *His people from their sins.* For just as the name Emmanuel meant, that the Word of God through His Birth of a woman was made with us; and Christ again, that made Man, He is said to be anointed as we in human wise; so too JESUS, that He saved us *His people*, which specially proves Him to be truly God and by Nature Lord of all. For the creature is not said to belong to a mere man^f, but rather it will befit to say that all things are the Only-Begotten's even though He was made Man.

Some one haply will say, Yet the people of Israel were called Moses'.

To this we will say, The people was called God's and that was true; but because they passed into revolt, and made a calf in the desert, they were dishonoured of God, He vouchsafed not any more to call them His people, but made them over to a man. Not so WE, for we are Jesus' own, in that He is God and all things created through Him. Ps. c. 3. For so saith David, *For He hath made us and not WE ourselves, WE are the people of His pasture and the sheep of His*

^e intentionum = θεωρημάτων.

^f "He is therefore God who has the

angels His own." de recta fide to the Princesses p. 82 a.

Hand. And Himself again says of us, *My sheep hear My voice and they follow Me*, and again, *And other sheep I have which are not of this fold, them also I must bring and there shall be one fold, one Shepherd.* And He bade too the blessed Peter, *Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou Me? feed My lambs.* § 4. S. John x. 27. Ib. 16. Ib. xxi. 15.

Why the Word of God was called Man.

§ 4

The WORD out of God the Father was called Man, albeit by Nature God, in that He partook of blood and flesh like we. For thus was He seen of those on the earth, and not letting go what He was, but assuming human nature like us, perfect as regards itself; yet in human nature too hath He remained God and Lord of all, by Nature and in truth Begotten of God the Father. And this the most wise Paul most clearly shews us, for he says, *The first man is of the earth earthy, the second Man the Lord's out of Heaven.* Albeit the holy Virgin hath borne the Temple united to the Word, yet is Emmanuel said to be (and rightly) out of heaven, for from above and out of the Essence of God the Father was His Word begotten. Yet He descended unto us when He was made Man; yet thus too is He from above. And John testified, saying of Him, *He that cometh from above is above all*, and Christ Himself saith to the people of the Jews, *YE are from beneath, I am from above*, and again, *I am not of this world*, albeit He was as Man called part of the world; yet therewith also was He above the world as God. For we remember that He plainly says, *And no man hath ascended up to heaven but He That came down from Heaven, the Son of man.* But we say that the

cf. Heb. ii. 14.

1 Cor. xv. 47.

S. John iii. 31.

Ib. viii. 23.

Ib.

above pp. 52, 92

Ib. iii. 13.

§ I have retained the words, *the Lord*, on the authority of John of Cæsarea (who has preserved us the Greek in his Apology for the Council of Chalcedon; of this John nothing else seems to be known, his Defence exists in Rome in a syriac translation as mentioned by Card. Mai, Nova Bibl. Patr. ii. 445, and anonymously in Greek in ms. both at Venice and at Cairo), and of the syriac translation of these scholia. In the ecumenic Epistle to John, Archbishop of Antioch, the syriac translation

has the words. On the other hand in S. Cyril's Apology for his 11th chapter against the Eastern Bishops, p. 194 c, the principal mss., the syriac translation (the manuscript of which is as old as the century after S. Cyril) and Mercator all omit the words, as does Mercator here. In the two citations of these words in the *Quod Unus Christus* (to be given below), the syriac version likewise omits the words. See also below, p. 226.

SCHOLIA
see p 83. Son of Man came down from Heaven by an economic union, the Word allotting to His own Flesh the endowments of His glory and God-befitting Excellency.

§ 5

In what way the Word of God is said to have been emptied.

Joel ii.
28.

GOD the Word full by nature and in every way Perfect, and distributing *out of His own Fullness* His own goods to the creature, we say was emptied: in no wise wronged in His own Proper Nature, nor changed so as to become otherwise, nor made in ought inferior, for inconvertible and unchangeable is Himself also even as He Who begat Him, and never may He be capable of passion. But when He was made Flesh, i. e. Man, He made (as He said, *I will pour forth of My Spirit upon all flesh*) the poverty of human nature His own: first, in that He was once made man, albeit He remained God; next in that He took the form of a servant, Who is in His own Nature free, as Son, and while He is Himself the Lord of glory He is said to receive glory: Himself Life, He is said to be quickened: and receives power over all, Himself King of all and with God, and He was obedient to the Father, suffered the Cross and so on. But these things befit the measure of the human nature, yet He makes them His own with flesh and fulfils the economy, remaining what He was.

§ 6

How Christ is One.

1 Cor.
viii. 5, 6.

S. John
i. 3.

S. Luke
i. 31.

The Divine Paul writes, *Though there be gods many and lords many in heaven and in earth, yet to us One God the Father of Whom all things and we of Him, and One Lord Jesus Christ through Whom all things and we through Him.* Yea and the very wise John said of God the Word, that *All things were made through Him and without Him was nothing made*, and the blessed Gabriel declared the Gospel to the Holy Virgin saying, *Behold thou shalt conceive in thy womb and bear a Son, and shalt call His Name Jesus.* Since then the Divine Paul declares that all things were made through Jesus Christ, and the Divine Evangelist confirms the force of the sentence and preaches that He

was God the Maker of all things, speaking truly, and the Angel's voice too points out that Jesus Christ was truly born of the Holy Virgin: yet we do not say that Jesus Christ was mere man^h, nor do we conceive of God the Word apart from His human nature but, we say that He was made One out of both, as God made Man, the Same begotten Divinely out of the Father as Word, and humanly out of woman as Man: not as though called to a second beginning of being then when He is said to have been born after the flesh: but begotten indeed before all ages, yet when the time came wherein He must fulfil the economy, born also of a woman after the flesh. Therefore, albeit others are called by like name christs, yet is there *One Jesus Christ through Whom are all things*, not that a man was made Maker of all things, but that God the Word, through Whom all things were made, *like as we took part of flesh and blood*, and was called Man, yet lost not what He was; for so, so made in flesh is He rightly understood to be Maker of all.

§ 7.

see above
pp. 5, 7.

Heb. ii.
14.

How Emmanuel is One.

§ 7

Once for all in the last ages is God the Word said to have been made Man, and (as Paul saith) was *manifested by the Sacrifice of Himself*. And what is the Sacrifice? He offered His own Body for us for an odour of a sweet savour to God the Father, and *entered in once into the holy place not by the blood of goats and bulls, but by His own Blood*, for so to them who believe on Him *obtained He eternal redemption*. Therefore very many before Him were saints but no one of them was called Emmanuel. Why? For not yet had the time come, when He was to be with us, i. e., to come in our nature through flesh, Who is superior to every creature. One therefore is Emmanuel, for once was the Only-Begotten made Man, when He underwent fleshly Birth through the holy Virgin. For it was said to Jesus too, *I*

Ib. ix. 26.

Ib. 12.

⁵ i. e.
Joshua
Josh. i. 5.

^h The words, *yet we do not say that Jesus Christ was mere man*, are wanting in the Latin, apparently from omission by homoeoteleuton, but the Syriac has supplied them.

SCHOLIA *will be with thee*, yet was he not Emmanuel; He was also with Moses, yet neither was he called Emmanuel. As often therefore as we hear the name, *With us is God*, given to the Son, let us wisely conceive that not so was He with us in the last times, as He is sometimes said to have been with the saints, for with them He was as a helper only: but with us He was, because He was made like us, not losing His own nature, for He is unchangeable as God.

§ 8

What we say the union is.

Union is arrived at in many ways: for some severed in disposition and mind and at variance one with another are said to be united in friendly agreement, laying aside their differences. And we say that things are united which ⁶ are joined ⁶ to one another or brought together in other ways, either by juxta-position or mixture or composition. When therefore we say that the Word of God was united to our nature, the mode of union is clearly above man's understanding; for it is not like one of those mentioned, but wholly ineffable and known to no one of those who are, save only to God Who knoweth all things.

⁶ κολλώμε-
ενα

And no marvel, if we are overcome by such ideas, when if we accurately investigate our own matters how they be, we confess that the grasp of them is beyond the understanding that is in us. For after what mode we conceive that the soul of man is united to his body, who can tell? But if we, who are wont to conceive and avail to speak scantily and with difficulty must form our judgement ⁷ of things so subtil and beyond understanding and speech; we say that it will befit to conceive (yet altogether less than the truth is our word) that of such sort is the union ⁱ of

⁷ κατατε-
κμήρασ-
θαι

ⁱ "Paul somewhere says of the Son of God, *Who being in the form of God deemed not the being Equal with God a thing to seize but emptied Himself, taking servant's form and found in fashion as a man*. The Word of God therefore hath been made man; He came not into a man like as He was in the Prophets [comp. dial. i. p. 398 c, hom. pasch. x, A.D. 423, p. 159 c] but has been made in truth this which WE too are, with-

out only sin. He is therefore God in that He is Word of the Father, and the own of His Essence; man, in that He hath been made flesh as it is written, and put about Him our flesh. The faith respecting our Lord Jesus Christ having this definition, let the words [spoken] of Him be discerned according to the ratio befitting them; and if thou hear, *I and the Father are One*, view the One Godhead of the Son and of the

Emmanuel, as one reckons that the soul of man too has with § 8. its own body. For the soul makes its own the things of the body although in its own nature imparticipate of its sufferings, both physical and those brought on it from without. For the body is moved to natural desires and the soul which is in it shares the perception thereof⁸ by reason ^{8 συναισ- θάσθεται} of the union, but participates in no way, yet thinks that the achievement of the desire is its own enjoyment. And even though the body be struck by any or be cut with steel, it co-grieves, its own body suffering, yet will itself in its own nature suffer nought of the things inflicted.

Nevertheless above this too do we say that the union is in the case of Emmanuel. For it were necessary that the soul united thereto should grieve along with its own body, that so, fleeing the disgrace, it might submit a tractable neck to God. But of God the Word, it were absurd to say that He were co-percipient of the contumelies (for free from passion is the Godhead and not in our condition), yet has He been united to flesh possessed of a reasonable soul, and when it suffered, He was impassibly in cognizance of what befell it and brought to nought as God the infirmities of the flesh, yet made them His own as belonging to His own Body: thus is He said both to hunger and be weary and suffer for us.

Hence the union of the Word with the human nature may be not unaptly compared with our condition⁹. For ^{9 τοῖς καθ' ἑμῶς} as the body is of other nature than the soul, yet is one man

Father and conceive of the Son as God out of the Essence of the Father; if again thou hear of Him that He wept and was grieved and was in fear and *began to be in sore distress*, conceive of Him again as being man along with being also God and attribute to the human nature what is due thereto. For since He took a Body mortal and subject to decay and liable to such like passions, needs does He with the flesh make His own its sufferings, and when it endures them, Himself is said to be enduring them. For thus do we say that He was both crucified and died, the flesh suffering this, not the Word apart and by Himself, for He is Impassible and Immortal. Hence we shall orthodoxly receive what is said,

allotting to the Godhead the God-befitting, attributing to the flesh the things spoken of because of it and as it were forth of it through the natural motions that are in us: of which the mind having the perception, gushes up through the tongue the things voicelessly whispered in the depth out of sight." Thes. cap. 24 p. 232 b c d e. Near the close too of his 4th Paschal homily (A. D. 417) S. Cyril says, "The Word makes His own (full rightly) the Suffering (for His was the Body and none other's), seeing that when the Body was scourged, and besides spat on by the all-daring Jews, Himself through the Prophet Isaiah says, *My Back I have given to scourges, My cheeks to blows.*" Hom. Pasch. 4 p. 58 d.

SCHOLIA produced and said to be of both ; so too out of the Perfect Person of God the Word, and of manhood perfect in its own mode, is One Christ, the Same God and Man in the Same. And the Word (as I said) makes its own the sufferings of Its own Flesh, because Its own is the Body and not another's : and It shares¹ with Its own Flesh the operation of the God-befitting might that is within It ; so that it should be able both to quicken the dead and to heal the sick.

¹ κοινο-
ποιεῖται

But if we must, using examples out of the God-inspired Scripture, shew as in type the mode of the union, come let us say it, as we are able.

§ 9

Of the coal.

Isa. vi.
6, 7.

The Prophet Isaiah says, *There was sent unto me one of the Seraphim and in his hand a live coal which he took with the tongs from off the altar and he said to me, Lo this touched thy lips and shall take away thine iniquities and purge thy sins.* But we say that the live coal fulfils to us the type and image of the Incarnate Word, Who, if He touch our lips, i. e., when we confess the faith Him-ward, doth then both make us pure from every sin and free us from the pristine charges against us.

² ἐμιλῆ-
σαν

Natheless one may see in the coal, as in an image, the Word of God united to the human nature, yet not losing the being what He is, but rather trans-elementing what He had taken, or united, unto His own glory and operation. For as fire having to do with² wood and entering into it, seizes hold of it, and removes it not from being wood, but transmutes it rather into the appearance and force of fire, and inworks all its own property therein, and it is now reckoned one with it, so shall you conceive of Christ too. For God united ineffably with the manhood, hath kept it what we say that it is, and Himself hath remained what He was ; but once united, is accounted one with it, making His own what is its, and Himself too introducing into it the operation of His own Nature.

That the flesh having a reasonable soul hath become the Body of the unembodied Godhead, and that by severing them one from another, we shall wholly and surely undo the plan³ of the economy in Christ. § 10

³ λόγον

In the Song of Songs our Lord Jesus Christ Himself has been introduced to us saying, I am *the flower of the plain, the lily of the vallies*. As then the smell is something unembodied, for it uses as its own body that wherein it is, yet is the lily conceived of as one out of both, and the failing of one utterly destroys the plan⁴ thereof, for in the object is the smell and the object is its body: so shall we conceive of the Nature of the Godhead in Christ too, that it sheds forth on the world the savour of His own more than earthly Excellence¹, as in the object His human Nature, and that the unembodied by Nature became by economic union all-but embodied also, because It willed to be recognized through the Body; for It hath wrought therein things God-befitting. Hence will the Unembodied be rightly conceived of as in His own Body, even as in the flower too, the object, is the scent, yet both together is called lily. Song of Sol. ii. 1. LXX.

⁴ λόγον

That the Word being co-brought to true union with the human nature, the things united^k have remained unconfused. § 11

The holy Tabernacle was reared by the will of God in the wilderness and in it was manifoldly typified Emmanuel. The God of all said therefore to the divine Moses, *And thou shalt make an ark of incorruptible wood, two cubits and a half its length, and a cubit and half its breadth and a cubit and a half its height, and thou shalt overlay it with pure gold, within and without shalt thou overlay it*. But the wood that will not rot will be a type of the incorruptible Body (for cedar does not rot); gold as matter surpassing all others will indicate to us the Excellence of the Divine Essence. Exod. xxv. 10, 11.

¹ "Being therefore the savour of God the Father, He will not be of other Essence than He; but as the scent naturally and essentially issuing forth from flowers, is indicative of the species which begat it, thus the Son too, being as it were a savour of the Father's Essence

whence Himself is, makes known Him That begat Him: hence no creature is He, seeing that the Father is not." Thes. cap. 32, p. 274 d.

^k τὰ ἡνωμένα, *substantiæ*, Lat. *ai ὑποστάσεις*, syr.

SCHOLIA But observe how the whole ark¹ was overlaid with pure gold within and without. For God the Word was united to the holy Flesh, and this (I deem) is it that the ark was overlaid without. But that He made His own the reasonable Soul also that was within the Body, will this shew, viz., that He bade that it should be overlaid within also. And that the Natures or Hypostases have remained unfused, shall we see hence. For the gold that was spread upon⁵ the wood, remained what it was, and the wood was rich in the glory of the gold; yet it ceased not from being wood.

ἡ ἐπαλληλ-
ειμμένον

But that the ark is taken as a type of Christ one may be assured of through many proofs. For it used to precede them of Israel, seeking rest for them; Christ too somewhere says, *I go to prepare a place for you.*

Num. x.
33.

S. John
xiv. 2.

§ 12 That the Word being God was made Man, and that not man merely honoured with bare connection was called to equal Dignity or Authority with God the Word, as some suppose.

1 Tim.
iii. 16.

The Divine Paul says that *great is the Mystery of godliness.* And this is true, for *the Word was manifested in the flesh*, since He is God; *justified in Spirit*, for in no wise is He seen to be holden by our infirmities, albeit for us made Man, for He did no sin; *seen moreover of angels*, for neither were they ignorant of His generation after the Flesh; He was *preached moreover unto the Gentiles*, as God made Man; and thus *believed on in the world.* And this the Divine Paul proved thus writing, *Wherefore remember that ye being in time past Gentiles in the flesh who are called Uncircumcision by that which is called the Circumcision in the flesh made by hands, that at that time ye were without Christ, aliened from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers from the covenants of promise, having no hope and without*

Eph. ii.
11, 12.

¹ The idea that the Ark was a type of Christ's Body is very ancient, see the fragment preserved to us of S. Irenaeus (p. 558 O.T.). S. Irenaeus speaks of the pure gold, somewhat similarly, "For as the Ark was gilded with pure gold both within and without, so was the Body of Christ too pure and re-

splendent: within adorned by the Word and without kept by the Spirit." [The latter part of the note ought to be cancelled, for S. Irenaeus (as Severus understood him) followed 2 Sam. vi. 1. in the LXX which gives 70,000 as the number which David gathered.]

God in the world. The Gentiles were therefore without §12.
God in the world, when they were without Christ; but ^{see de}
when they acknowledged Him to be truly and by Nature ^{recta fide}
God, themselves too were acknowledged by Him confessing ^{to Prin-}
the faith. And He was *received up into glory*, Divine glory ^{cesses} p. 70 d
that is; for blessed David sings, *God is gone up in joy.* ^{1 Tim.}
For He went up verily with Body, not in bare Godhead, ^{iii. 16.}
for God was Incarnate. ^{Ps. xlvii.}
^{5.}

We believe therefore, not in one like us honoured with Godhead by grace, lest we be caught worshippers of a man, but rather in the Lord Who appeared in servant's form, and Who was truly like us and in human nature, yet remained God, for God the Word, when He took flesh, laid not down what He was, but is conceived of the Same God alike and Man.

Thus is the faith and rightly. But if any say, What harm if a man like us be conceived of as laying hold on Godhead and not God rather be made man? we shall answer that there are a thousand things which may be brought to bear against this, and which all but tell us that we ought firmly to strive against it and not thus to believe.

For come before ought else, let us look at the mode of the economy with Flesh and thoroughly investigate the nature of our condition; the nature of man was perilled and was brought down to the extreme of ill, condemned to curse and death and involved in the toils of sin, was straying and was in darkness, it knew not Him Who is by Nature and truly God, it worshipped the creature more than the Creator. How then could it be freed from such ills? Or do we say that it was lawful⁶ for it to lay hold on the ^{6 θέμις} Divine Nature, albeit it did not at all know what the Dignity of the Supreme Nature is, it which was holden of unlearning and darkness, and defiled by the soil of sin? how was it like that it could mount up to the All-Pure Nature and lay hold on glory which none can lay hold of, except he receive it? For let it be supposed that by knowledge for ^{7 i. e. of} example, and through knowing we say that it lays hold ^{that Na-} thereof⁷: who is to teach it? For *how shall they believe ex-* ^{Rom. x.}
^{11.}

SCHOLIA cept they hear? But this is not at all to take hold of Godhead, and to seize the glory that beseems It.

Hence it will be more meet (and reasonably so) to conceive that God the Word through Whom are all things, desiring to save that which was lost, by co-abasement⁸ unto us, lowered Himself to what He was not, in order that the nature of man too might become what it was not, eminent in the Dignities of the Divine Supremacy by union with Him, and should be rather brought up to what was above nature, than bring down unto what was alien from His Nature, the Unchangeable, as God. It behoved that the Incorruptible should lay hold on the nature subject to corruption, that He might free it from the corruption, it behoved that He Who knew not to sin should be made conformal with those who were under sin, that He might make sin to cease: for as where is light, there surely darkness will have no work, so where incorruption is present, is all necessity that corruption flee, and that, since He Who knew not sin hath made His own that which was under sin, sin should come to nought.

But that the Word, being God, was made Man, and not rather that Christ was Man deified, I will endeavour to shew from the Holy Scriptures also. Blessed Paul says therefore of the Only-Begotten, *Who bring in the Form of God thought not the being equal with God a thing to seize, but emptied Himself taking servant's form, made in the likeness of men, and being found in fashion as a man, He humbled Himself and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross; wherefore God also highly exalted Him and gave Him the name which is above every name, that at the name of Jesus Christ every knee should bow of heavenly and earthly and infernal and every tongue confess Lord Jesus Christ to the glory of God the Father.*

Whom therefore shall we say was in the Form of God and Equality of the Father, and thought these things *not a thing to seize*; but descended rather into emptiness and into servant's form, and humbleth Himself and was made in our likeness? If man made of a woman bare and sole,

⁸ συγκα-
ταβάσει

Phil. ii.
6—11.

how was he in the Form and Equality of the Father? or § 12.
how has he fulness that he may be conceived of as emptied? ^{see p. 112}
or in what height placed afore, is he said to have humbled ^{note g}
himself? or how was he made in the likeness of men, who
was so formerly too by nature, even though haply he were
not said to be so made? yea where was he emptied, taking
the fulness of the Godhead? or how was he not made most
high who mounted up into glory supernal?

Therefore we say that not man was made God, but rather ^{above p. 166.}
that the Word of God Who was in Equality and Form of
the Father was made in emptiness because of the human
nature, for He was emptied in this way, by reason of our
likeness, being Full, as God: He was humbled on account
of the Flesh, while He departeth not from the Throne
of the Divine Majesty, for He hath His Seat Most High:
He was made in the likeness of men, being of the Same
Form with the Father, of Whose Essence He is the Form ^{9. 9 figura}
Yet since He was once made as we, He is said to have as-
cended with Flesh too into the glory of the Godhead,
which indeed He had evident as His own, yet was He in
it after another sort, on account of the Human Nature, for
He is believed to be Lord of all, even with Flesh.

But to Him boweth every knee, and that not to the
grief or dishonour of the Father, but rather *to His glory*:
for He rejoiceth and is glorified when the Son is adored
by all, albeit made like us; for it is written again, *For He* ^{Heb. ii. 16, 17.}
took not on Him angels but He took on Him the seed of Abra-
ham, wherefore in all things it behoved Him to be made like
unto His brethren. Lo the Word took hold of the seed of
Abraham, in that He is God, not some man like us took
hold of Godhead, and He is Himself made like unto us, and ^{above pp. 91, 95.}
is called our Brother as Man, not we to Him as regards
the Nature of the Godhead. And again: *Forasmuch then* ^{Ib. 14, 15.}
as the children partook of blood and flesh, He also Himself
likewise partook of them, that through death He might des-
troy him who holdeth the power of death, that is, the devil,
and might deliver them who through fear of death were all
their lifetime subject to bondage. Lo again Himself just as

SCHOLIA we partook of blood and flesh; and this hath a reason most
 Rom. viii. closely united and kin, for it is written, *For what the Law*
 3. *could not do in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending His own Son in the likeness of flesh of sin and for sin condemned sin in the flesh.* Observe again that not man is shewn to be affecting the Divine Nature, and mounting up to His Dignity; but God the Father sending rather His Son *in the likeness of flesh of sin* to destroy sin. Therefore the Word, being God, made Man let Himself down into emptiness; and Christ is seen to be no mere man, affecting the Divine Glory.

§ 13

That the Word of God made Man is called Christ Jesus.

Desiring to investigate the Mystery of the economy with flesh of the Only Begotten, we say this, holding true doctrine and right faith, that the Word Himself out of God the Father, Very God out of Very God, the Light That is out of Light, was Incarnate and made Man, descended suffered rose from the dead: for thus defined the holy and great Synod the Symbol of the Faith.

But investigating and desiring to learn what is the true meaning of the Word being Incarnate and made Man; we see that it is not to take man in connection in regard of equality of dignity or authority or of mere community of name of sonship; but rather to be made man as we, together with *His* preserving to His own Nature Its being unchanged and without turn, Who economically became in assumption of flesh and blood.

cf. S.
James
i. 17.

One therefore is He Who before the Incarnation is called by the God-inspired Scripture, Only-Begotten, Word, God, Image, Brightness, Impress of the Person of the Father, Life, Glory, Light, Wisdom, Power, Arm, Right Hand, Most Highest, Magnificence, Lord of Sabaoth, and other like names, truly most God-befitting; and after the Incarnation, Man, Christ Jesus, Propitiation, Mediator, Firstfruits of them that slept, First-begotten of the dead, Col. i. 18. Second Adam, *Head of the Body the Church*; the first

names also following Him : for all are His, both the first § 13. and those in the last times of the world.

One therefore is He Who both before the Incarnation was Very God and in the human nature hath remained That He was and is and shall be. We must not then sever the One Lord Jesus Christ into Man separately and into God separately, but we say that Jesus Christ is One and the Same, yet knowing the distinction of the Natures and keeping them unconfused with one another.

When therefore Holy Writ says that in Christ dwelt *all the fulness of the Godhead bodily*, we do not therefore Col. ii. 9. say that the Word by Himself dwelt in another, the man Christ, nor plucking asunder one from another things united do we conceive of two sons, but this rather, that holy Writ calls by the name Christ sometimes separately the human nature of the Word of God which He having as His own, used as a Temple. And it has been written somewhere of human souls also, *Them that dwell in houses of clay, whereof we too are of the same clay.* Job iv. 19. LXX. Do we then, since he calls the bodies of men *houses of clay*, and affirms that their souls dwell in them, sever one man into two? yet how is it not wholly without blame^m, that in a man should be said to dwell his spirit? so that even though the form of speech passes through this mode, unable to do otherwise, it does not beseem that the natures of things are therefore injured, but rather we must conceive that they hasten the straight way of the truth. above p. 78 note z.

When then any of those things which do not possess like nature one with another, are seen brought together to unity by composition, and the one (for example) is said to dwell within the other; we must not sunder them into two, seeing that the concurrence unto unity is in no wise injured, even though one of the things united be separately called by us what the two together are. For in man too (as I said) is said to dwell his spirit; yet both the spirit separately and likewise the body are called man. above p. 41 note c.

^m ἀμώμητον, and so also the Syriac translation; the Latin version gives *inrationabile*, as though it had read ἀνόητον in place of ἀμώμητον.

SCHOLIA And some such thing as this doth the most wise Paul 2 Cor. iv. indicate to us saying, *For though our outward man perish* 16.

yet the inward man is renewed day by day. When then any saith that our inward man dwelleth in our outward man, he speaks true, yet he does not sever the one into two. The Prophet Isaiah too somewhere saith, *By night does my spirit rise early unto Thee, O God.* Is then his spirit said to rise early to God, as being other than himself? albeit how is it not absurd to say any thing of this kind? Therefore we must know figures of speech, yet not depart from what is reasonable, but fetch about the force of the things signified to the aim befitting each.

S. Luke ii. 52.

¹ χάριτι, grace or favour.

above p. 114 and note h

² συμπαρεκτείνειν

S. John vii. 15.

And although Jesus be said to advance *in age and wisdom and grace*¹, this will pertain to the economy. For the Word of God permitted His Humanity to advance by reason of the habits of its proper nature, and willed as it were by little and little to extend the illustriousness of His own Godhead, and along with the age of the Body to put out therewith² what is Its own; so that nought strange should be seen and terrify any with its overmuch unwontedness: while even so they spake, *How knoweth this man letters having never learned?* Therefore bodily is the increase; and the advance in grace and wisdom will befit the measures of the Human nature: yet we say that the Word out of God is Himself in His own Nature All-Perfect, not lacking *advance*, nor *wisdom*, nor *grace*, but that He imparts rather to the creature wisdom and grace and the things whereby it is in good case.

And though Jesus be said also to suffer, the suffering will belong to the economy; but is said to be His, and with all reason, because His too is that which suffered, and He was in the suffering Body, He unknowing to suffer (for He is Impassible as God); yet as far as pertained to the daring of those who raged against Him, He would have suffered, if He could have suffered.

Therefore since the Only-Begotten has been made as we, as often as He is called Man by the God-inspired Scripture, considering the economy, let us confess that even so is He God by Nature.

Proofs of Divine Scripture, that the Word of God even when made Man remained God. § 14

God says somewhere to the hierophant Moses, *And thou shalt make a mercy seat, by inlaying of pure gold : two cubits and a half the length thereof and a cubit and a half the breadth thereof, and thou shalt make two cherubim of gold, of beaten work, and shalt put them on either side, one cherub on this end the other cherub on that end of the mercy seat, and thou shalt make the two cherubim on the two ends thereof. The cherubim shall stretch forth their wings on high, overshadowing the mercy seat with their wings and their faces one to another, looking to the mercy seat shall the faces of the cherubim be.* A most sure image will this be that God the Word even in the human nature remained God and in His own Glory and Majesty even though for the economy's sake made like unto us; for a propitiation through faith was Emmanuel made unto us. And this the most wise John proved saying to us, *My little children, these things write I unto you that ye sin not; and if any man sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the Righteous, and He is the Propitiation for our sins; so too Paul says, Whom God set forth a propitiation through faith in His Blood.*

Ex. xxv. 17—20.
Rom. iii. 25.
1 S. John ii. 1, 2.
Rom. iii. 25.

But see the Cherubim standing round about the Mercy seat and overshadowing it with their wings, but turned toward the Mercy seat and all but fixing their eye on their Lord's beck. For to the will of God alone looketh the whole multitude of the heavenly spirits, and is never sated with the sight of God. So doth the Prophet Isaiah say that he saw the Son on a throne high and lifted up, the Seraphin standing around and waiting on ³ Him as God.

Isa. vi. 1.
³ obsequentibus

Another.

§ 15

The Divine Moses was of old appointed to free Israel from the violence of the Egyptians. But since it was needful that they who were under the yoke of an unwonted servitude, should first learn that God was now reconciled to them, He bade him work miracles : for a miracle oft-

SCHOLIA time brings us to belief. Moses therefore says to God Al-
 Ex. iv. mighty, *But if they shall not believe me nor hearken to my*
 1-5. *voice, saying, The Lord hath not appeared unto thee, what*
shall I say to them? the Lord then said unto him, What is
that in thine hand? And he said, A rod: and He said to
him, Cast it on the ground: and he cast it on the groundⁿ
and it became a serpent and Moses fled from before it: and
the Lord said unto Moses, Put forth thine hand, and take it by
the tail; and he put forth his hand and took it by the tail
and it became a rod in his hand. And He said to him, That
they may believe that the Lord God of their fathers, the God
of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob hath ap-
peared unto thee. Observe herein^o the Son of God by Na-
 Ps. xlv. 6. all. Whence Divine David also saith, *Thy Throne, O God*
is for ever and ever, a Rod of Equity the Rod of Thy King-
dom. But He cast it on the ground, i. e., surrounded it
 with an earthly Body, or through the human nature sent
 it upon the earth, for then, then was it made in likeness of
 the wicked, men that is, for of wickedness is the serpent a
 token.

And that this is true, thou wilt hence know. For our
 Lord Jesus Christ Himself, in image and figure of the eco-
 nomy wrought with flesh is taken for the brazen serpent
 which Moses reared to cure the serpents' bites. For He
 S. John says, *And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness,*
 iii. 14, 15. *even so must the Son of man be lifted up, that whosoever*
believeth in Him should not perish but have eternal life.
 For as the serpent made of brass was an occasion of sal-
 vation to those in peril (for looking on it they were saved),
 so our Lord Jesus Christ too to those who see Him in the
 likeness of bad men in that He was made Man, yet are

ⁿ The words *and he cast it on the ground*, omitted in the Latin, are given in the Syriac version.

^o See a most interesting chapter on the two miracles mentioned in this and the next section, in S. Cyril's Glaphyra pp. 298 sqq. In the Glaphyra, S. Cyril goes on to speak of the third miracle,

the water turned into blood, see below § 36 p. 225. In his second Paschal homily (A.D. 415) S. Cyril speaks of the rod become a serpent, but there likens God's own people to a rod springing up from the earth, but becoming a serpent when it fell away from its lawgiver, and again becoming fair and good (p. 28 fin.).

not ignorant that He is God Who quickens, will be the § 16.
Bestower of Life and the power of escaping bitter and
venomous beasts, I mean the powers that oppose us.

It will be a figure too of this that Moses' Rod devoured
the other rods, which the Magi had cast on the ground.
The Rod therefore was indeed cast on the earth, yet did
not abide a serpent, but taken again it was what it had
been; for although the Father's Rod, i.e., the Son, through
Whom He hath power over all was made (as I said before)
in our likeness: yet when the economy was fulfilled He
hastened back into Heaven and was again as in the Fa-
ther's Hand *a Rod of Righteousness* and of Rule; for He Ps. xlv. 6.
sitteth at the Right Hand of His Father in His own Ma-
jesty, possessing the Supreme Throne even with Flesh.

Another.

§ 16

And the Lord God said again to him, Put thine hand into Exod. iv.
thy bosom, and he put his hand into his bosom and took 6, 7.
forth his hand out of his bosom and his hand became as snow.
And He said again, Put thine hand into thy bosom, and he
put his hand into his bosom and brought it forth of his bosom,
and it was turned again to the colour of his flesh. The Hand
and the Right Hand of God the Father the Divine Scrip-
ture calls His Very Son. For it introduces Him saying,
I by Mine Hand founded the Heaven, and the Divine David Isa.
too singeth, *By the Word of the Lord the Heavens were sta-* xlviii. 13.
blished. See therefore that Moses' hand was as yet hidden Ps. xxxiii.
in his bosom and had not yet become leprous; brought 6.
forth and immediately it became leprous; then after a
while put in and again brought forth, and for the future
not leprous; for it was restored (it says) *to the colour of his*
flesh. Therefore as long as God the Word was in the
Bosom of the Father, He shone with the brightness of
Godhead, but when He was in a manner forth of it be-
cause of the Incarnation or being made Man, He became
in the likeness of flesh of sin and was numbered among the
wicked: for the Divine Paul saith, *Him who knew not sin*

Rom. viii.
3.
Isa. liii.
12.
2 Cor. v.
21.

SCHOLIA *He made sin for us, that WE might be made the Righteousness of God in Him.* This I think is what the leprosy means, for the leper was unclean according to the Law. But when He was again in the Bosom of the Father (for He was taken up at the Resurrection from the dead), the Hand again brought forth was seen clean: for our Lord Jesus Christ will come, He will come in His season in the brightness and glory of the Godhead, although He have not cast away our likeness. For blessed Paul too saith of Christ, For He *once died to take away the sins of many, and unto them that look for Him unto salvation shall He appear the second time without sin.*

Heb. ix.
28.

Therefore as often as the Divine Scripture names Christ Jesus, do not think of man by himself, but think rather that JESUS CHRIST is the Very Word out of God the Father, even^p when He became Man.

§ 17 That Christ was not a God-clad man, nor did the Word of God merely dwell in a man, but rather that He was made Flesh, or Perfect Man, according to the Scriptures.

Ib. i. 1,
2.

They who have their faith in Christ undefiled, and approved by right votes of all men, will say that God the Word Himself out of God the Father descended into emptiness, taking servant's form and, making His own the Body which was born of the Virgin, was made as we and called Son of Man. He is indeed God according to the Spirit, yet the Same Man according to the flesh^q. And the Divine Paul also addressed the people of the Jews saying, *God Who manifoldly and in many ways of old spake to the fathers in the prophets, in these last days spake to us in the Son.* And how is God the Father understood to have spoken in the last days in His Son? For He spake to them of old the Law through Him; and hence the Son Himself says that they are His Words through the most wise

^p I have supplied *even* from the Syriac; *καὶ ὅτε ἄνθρωπος γέγονε* being S. Cyril's usual way of stating this.

^q See a very similar expression in a little treatise of S. Athanasius on the Incarnation, quoted by S. Cyril, de rec-

ta fide to the Princesses Arcadia and Marina, p. 48 a c, and in S. Cyril's Defence of his eighth chapter against the strictures of the Eastern Bishops, p. 178 b and c.

Moses. For He says, *Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets, I am not come to destroy but to fulfil: for I say unto you that one jot or one tittle shall not pass from the Law till all be fulfilled. Heaven and earth shall pass away but My words shall not pass away: there is also the Prophet's voice, I that speak am at hand.* Hence when He was made in flesh, then spake to us the Father through Him, as saith blessed Paul, *in the last days.* But lest we should not believe that He it is Who before the ages also was Son, he added immediately, *Through Whom He made the worlds too: he also mentions that He is the brightness of the glory and the Impress of the Person of the Father.*

Man therefore was He truly made, through Whom God the Father made the worlds too; and was not (as some suppose) in a man, so as to be conceived of by us as a man who has God indwelling in him. For if they believe that these things are really so, superfluous will seem to be the blessed Evangelist John, saying, *And the Word was made Flesh.* For where the need of being made man? or why is God the Word said to be Incarnate, unless *was made flesh* means that He was made like us, and the force of the being made man declares that He was made like us, yet remained even so above us, yea also above the whole creation?

But I think it due by instances also to prove what I have said and to persuade that the Only-Begotten has been made Man and is God even with Flesh and hath not rather indwelt in a man, rendering him God-clad, like others too who have been made partakers of His Godhead.

¶ Ideas or thoughts †.

§ 18

God says somewhere of us, *I will dwell in them and walk in them and I will be to them a God and they shall be to Me a people.* And our Lord Jesus Christ Himself too saith, *Lo I am coming and if any man open to Me, I will enter both I and the Father and we will dwell with him and sup with him.* We are also called temples of God, for YE (he

† The Syriac gives a very similar title, Cogitationes ad fidem aptæ.

§ 18.
S. Matt.
v. 17, 18.
Ib. xxiv.
35.
Isa. lii. 6.
LXX.
Heb. i. 2.
Ib. 3.
see above
p. 192
note i
col. 1.
S. John
i. 14.
2 Cor. vi.
16.
S. John
xiv. 23.
Rev. iii.
20.
2 Cor. vi.
16.

SCHOLIA says) are the Temples of the Living God, and again, Know
 1 Cor. vi. ye not that your bodies are the Temples of the Holy Ghost
 19. Which is in you Which ye have of God? But if they say
 that He is Emmanuel, as each one of us has had God indwelling in him, let them confess it openly, that when they see Him worshipped as well by us as by the Angels, in Heaven alike and upon earth, they may blush as thinking otherwise, and ignorant of the drift of the holy Scriptures, and not having in them the faith which they delivered to us, who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the Word.

cf. 1 Tim.
 vi. 3.
 S. Luke
 i. 2.

But if they say that He is therefore God and glorified as God because the Word of God the Father merely dwelt in Him, and not because He was made Man, let them hear again from us, If to them who had God indwelling in them, it suffices that they might therefore be truly gods and adored by all, all are gods and to be adored, for He dwelleth in the holy Angels, and we have Him ourselves too in us through the Spirit; but this is not enough to shew that they are by nature gods and to be adored who have the Spirit in them. Not therefore for this is Emmanuel God and to be worshipped because the Word of God dwelt in Him as in a mere man, to be considered by himself and apart, but because He was made flesh, i. e. Man, for He remained therefore God who is to be worshipped.

§ 19

Apostolic sayings wherein Christ is called God.

Eph. iii. Speaking of the Mystery Christward, he says, Which in
 5. other ages was not made known unto the sons of men, as it
 Col. i. 26— is now revealed unto His saints, unto whom God would make
 28. known what is the riches of the glory of this mystery among the Gentiles which is Christ in you the hope of glory, Whom we preach. If^s therefore He is God-clad and not truly God, how is Himself the riches of the glory of the Mystery which is proclaimed to the Gentiles? or how is God at all proclaimed?

^s see de recta fide to the Princesses, p. 71 fin.

Another.

§ 20

For I would that ye knew what conflict I have for you and for them at Laodicea and as many as have not seen my face in the flesh, that their hearts might be comforted, being knit together in love and unto all riches of the full assurance of understanding to the acknowledgement of the Mystery of God of Christ^t. Lo he calls the Mystery of God the Mystery of Christ, and wishes certain to have full understanding unto the acknowledgement of it. Of what understanding therefore was there need to those who would learn the Mystery of Christ, if they were to hear that God dwelt in a man? for there would be need of exceeding understanding to know on the other hand that the Word being God was made Man.

Col. ii.
1, 2.

Another.

§ 21

For from you sounded out the word of the Lord not only in Macedonia and Achaia, but in every place your faith to Godward is gone forth. Lo again he makes mention that their faith was Godward, while Christ too saith, He that believeth in Me hath everlasting Life: and the word of the Lord he calls the preaching of Him.

1 Thess.
i. 8.S. John
vi. 47.

Another.

§ 22

For yourselves know our entrance in unto you that it was not in vain, but after that we had suffered many things before and been reviled as ye know in Philippi, we were bold in our God to speak unto you the Gospel of God. Lo speaking in God, he made mention of the Gospel of God, who preaches Christ to the Gentiles.

1 Thess.
ii. 1, 2.

Another.

§ 23

Call to mind, brethren, our labour and travail, labouring

Ib. 9.

^t of God, of Christ. The word *and* is omitted in the Latin (and there is great manuscriptal variation in these words of S. Paul). The syriac translation gives, *of God and of Christ*. In Thes. 287 c, the best manuscript gives, τοῦ θεοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ χριστοῦ; the Cod. Coislin 248

written in the year 1066, has τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς καὶ χριστοῦ: the syriac translation of the Thesaurus curiously has, *of God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ*. In the Thesaurus too S. Cyril cites the text to prove that the Son is God.

SCHOLIA *night and day that we might not be burdensome to any of you, we preached the Gospel of God among you : and again, 1 Thess. ii. 13. For this cause WE too thank God without ceasing, because when ye received from us the word of hearing of God, ye received it not as the word of men but as it is in truth the Word of God which worketh in you which have believed. Does he not plainly call the preaching about Christ the Gospel of God and word of God ? this surely is plain to all.*

§ 24

Another ^u.

Tit. ii. 11—13. *For the grace of God our Saviour^v hath appeared to all men, teaching us that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts we should live soberly and uprightly and piously in this world awaiting the blessed hope and coming of the glory of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ. Lo our Lord JESUS CHRIST is most openly called God and Great : for He it is Whose coming of glory we awaiting, are diligent to live soberly and unblameably. But if He be a God-clad man, how is He also great God ? or how is the hope in Him a blessed one ? if so be that the Prophet Jeremiah is true in saying, Cursed the man that putteth his trust in man. Jer. xvii. 5. For neither could his bearing God (as I said before) render him God Himself : next let them teach us what hinders that all others be gods and to be worshipped who have God in them ? But blessed Paul calls Christ God and Great and that hath a blessed coming, he who is found saying of the Jews, and of Emmanuel, Whose are the fathers and the covenant and the promises and of whom as concerning the flesh, CHRIST Who is over all God^x blessed for ever. Amen.*

Rom. ix. 4, 5.

Gal. ii. 1, 2. *But that by Divine revelation he did make his preaching, is clear in that himself saith, Then fourteen years after I went up again to Jerusalem with Barnabas and took Titus with me also ; but I went up by revelation and set forth to them the Gospel which I preach to the Gentiles, but privately to them who seemed to be somewhat, lest haply I should run or had run in vain. He preaching Christ to the Gentiles*

^u This title I have introduced from the Syriac. The Latin goes straight on.

^v *vatoris, salutaris, saving, or, quickening.*

^x I have added God from the Syriac.

^y The Syriac translates as we, for sal-

as God, every where calls His Mystery Divine^y. He went § 25.
up to Jerusalem by revelation and set forth to them who
seemed to be somewhat, i. e., to the holy Apostles and
Disciples, lest perchance he should run in vain or had run.
But when he had gone down from Jerusalem and was again
among the multitude of the Gentiles, did he correct ought
of his former [teaching]? did he not persevere in con-
fessing that Christ is God? and indeed he writes to certain,
I marvel that ye are so soon removed from him who called Gal. i. 6,
you, unto another gospel which is not another, save there be 7.
some that trouble you, and would pervert the Gospel of Christ :
and he says again, *But though we or an Angel from Heaven* Ib. 8.
preach any other gospel unto you than that ye have received, let
him be anathema. For what reason therefore leaving all
else albeit they had God indwelling, did he preach Jesus
Alone as God?

Another.

§ 25

It is written of Christ, *But when He was at Jerusalem in*
the feast day many believed in His Name, when they saw the S. John
signs which He was doing, but Jesus Himself trusted not Him- ii. 23—25.
self to them, because He knew all men and because He needed
not that any one should bear witness of a man, for Himself
knew what was in man. If He were a God-clad man, how
were not the many deceived who at Jerusalem believed on
His Name? or how doth He Alone know the things which
are in man when none else knoweth them^z? for God is said
to have fashioned our hearts one by one. Or why doth He
Alone forgive sins? for He saith, *That the Son of Man hath* Ps.
power upon earth to forgive sins. Why is He Alone apart xxxiii. 15.
S. Matt.
ix. 6.
from others the Co-sessor of God the Father? why do the
Angels worship Him Alone, and did He teach us to deem
of the Father as our common Father which is in Heaven,
but ascribeth Him in special manner to Himself?

But perchance you will say that words of this sort are to
be attributed to the indwelling Word. Ought He not

^y The Syriac reads *nomino* for *nominat*,
i. e. *had run in vain* who preach Christ
as God to the Gentiles and everywhere
call His Mystery Divine.

^z See S. Cyril's commentary on this
verse, on S. John, pp. 165 fin., 166 O.T.,
and above, p 56.

SCHOLIA therefore, according to the measure be seeming Prophets, Himself too to have said, *Thus saith the Lord*^a? But when He would ordain the things that are above the Law, taking to Himself authority befitting a Legislator, He used to say, *I say to you.*

cf. S.
Matt.
xvii. 26.

How says He that He is free and not indebted^b to God? It is because He is Son in truth. And if He were a God-clad man, would He be also free by Nature? For God Alone is free and unbound: for He Alone exacts as it were tribute from all, and receives from all as from debtors due observance⁴. And if Christ is the end of the Law and the Prophets, yet is a God-clad man, might one not say that the end of the prophetic preachings has brought upon us the charge of man-worship?

⁴ religionem,
θρησκεία

S. Matt.
iv. 10
from
Deut.
vi. 13.

Again, the Law set forth, *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God and Him only shalt thou serve.* By which teaching it led us unto Christ, as unto a knowledge more excellent than they had who were in the shadow: shall we therefore, making light of worshipping God, worship a man who has God indwelling? for where were it best that God be conceived to be? in heaven or in a man? in Seraphim or in earthly body?

Heb. ii.
14.

If therefore He were God-clad man, how partook He like as we in flesh and blood? For if because He indwelt him, this were enough for Him that He should partake of ours like as we, and if His so participating is the being made man: He indwelt in many saints too: He was therefore not once but full often made man. Why therefore is He

Ib. ix. 26. said *once in the end of the world to have appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself?* how do the Divine Scriptures preach to us one Coming of the Word?

§ 26 If^c He were a God-clad man, He too (it seems) was made the Temple of God, and how is Christ in us also? as a Temple in temples? or rather as God in the temples through

^a see above, p. 57 and note x.

^b obnoxium = ἐνοχον. The syriac translation has, *owes the tribute-money*: see above p. 53 note t.

^c The syriac supplies the fresh section-number 26 here; the Latin gives no break.

the Spirit? If He were a God-clad man, why is His Body § 27.
alone Life-giving? for such should have been the bodies of
others also, wherein indwelt Almighty God.

And the Divine Paul also wrote somewhere, *He that des-* Heb. x.
pised Moses' Law died without any mercy at the hands of two 28, 29.
or three witnesses; of how much sorer punishment, suppose ye,
shall he be thought worthy who hath trodden under foot the
Son of God and hath deemed polluted the Blood of the Cov-
enant? Yet Divine was the Law, and the Commandments Ib. ii. 2.
spoken through Angels: how then will he be *thought wor-* cf. Gal.
thy of sorer punishment who hath deemed polluted the iii. 19.
Blood of Christ? or how is the faith Christ-ward better Acts vii.
than the worship after the Law? But (as we have already 53.
said) Christ is not as other saints, a God-clad man, but
rather God in truth and He possesses glory higher than all
the world, because, being the Word of God by Nature,
God was made flesh or perfect man; for we believe that
the Body which was united to Him is ensouled and endowed
with reason, and wholly true is the union.

How we must understand *The Word was made Flesh and dwelt in us*, and § 27
how the Word is sent which is God, and how the Body is said to be His own.

The blessed Paul makes mention that the Only-Begotten
Word of God took hold of Abraham's seed and also that Heb. ii.
He partook of flesh and blood as we. We remember too 16.
the voice of John, for he says, *And the Word was made Flesh* Ib. 14.
and dwelt in us. Was it therefore the aim of these men, S. John i.
being spiritual, to teach that the Word of God suffers 14.
change, or that it is right that He should undergo the
mutation which belongs rather to the creature? so that
that too which He was not, He should haply either come to
of His own will, or another against His will drive Him into
another nature? God forbid: for He remains the Same,
excluding from His Nature every change, unknowing to
suffer a *shadow of turning*: for That Supreme and Heavenly S. James
Nature is ever fixed in Its own. i. 17.

How then the Word has been made Flesh it is needful to
see. First then the Divine Scripture full often calls man

SCHOLIA flesh and as it were from part makes declaration of the whole animal, and does the same sometimes no less from the soul alone, for it is written that *all flesh shall see the salvation of God*, and moreover the Divine-uttering Paul saith, *I conferred not with flesh and blood*, and the hierophant Moses addressed them of Israel, *Thy fathers went down into Egypt in threescore and fifteen souls*. And one would not therefore say that bare and fleshless souls made their descent into Egypt, nor again that to soulless bodies and mere flesh God gave bounteously of His salvation.

S. Luke
iii. 6.
Gal. i. 16.

Deut. x.
22.

As often therefore as we hear that the Word was made Flesh, let us conceive of man made out of soul and body. But the Word being God was made perfect man taking a body endowed with soul and mind, and having united this to Himself in truth, as He knows (for thoughts of this kind are utterly unattainable by our mind), was called son of man. Yet if one must say somewhat, looking as in a mirror, the human mind defines that the Word was united to the Body having a reasonable soul, much as is the soul of man too to its own body, which is of other nature than it, yet obtains even thus participation and union with the body, so as to appear not other than it, in that by composition one living thing is effected out of both, it nevertheless remaining (as I mentioned before) in its own nature. Hence we say that not by mutation or change has the Word of God been made Man, nor yet that It recked not of being God (how could it be so?) but that taking flesh of a woman and united to it from the womb, He proceeded forth, the Same, Man and God, for not as casting away the Ineffable Generation out of God the Father, did He endure that of a woman, inviting Him to a beginning so to say of being, but rather permitted to His own Flesh to be called into being by means of the laws of its own nature, in regard I mean to the mode of its birth: nevertheless the human nature hath in Him something special, for He was born of a Virgin and hath Alone a mother incognizant of marriage. And he says that *made Flesh* He also *tabernacled in us*, that through both he might shew that He both was made Man

above
pp. 5, 7

above
p. 35

and let not go His own, for He hath remained what He was. § 27.

For that which dwelleth is full surely conceived of as one thing in another, to wit, the Divine Nature in the human, not undergoing mixture or any commingling or passing into what it was not. For that which indwells in another, becomes not that which it is wherein it dwells; but is conceived of rather as one thing in another. But in respect of the Nature of the Word and of the Manhood, the diversity herein indicates to us only the difference [of natures]. For One Christ is conceived of out of both. Preserving well therefore (as I said before) the inconfusion⁵, he says that *the Word tabernacled in us*. For he knows that the Only-Begotten Incarnate and made Man is One Son. ⁵ τὸ ἀσύγχυτον

But see (I pray) that the Divine Evangelist is wisely crowning the whole nature of men, for he says that the Word *dwelt in us*, not saying that the Incarnation of the Word took place for any other reason (as seems to me) save that we too, enriched by the participation of Himself through the Holy Ghost might gain the benefit of adoption. Therefore we believe that in Christ took place an union most complete and true: but in us even though He be said to dwell, He will make His Indwelling non-essential^d. *For in Him dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead* see above pp. 94, 95. Col. ii. 9. *bodily*, i. e., not by participance or relation only, as when light shineth in or fire infuseth into other things its innate heat, but (so to say) that Very Divine and Untaint Nature is to be understood as that which is making for Itself an Indwelling by means of a true (as we said before) Union in the Temple which is born of the Virgin: for thus CHRIST JESUS both is and is conceived of as One.

And that our speech is overcome in its utmost possible expression, I will not deny, but let not the Mystery of Christ be therefore disbelieved, but let it be deservedly

^d σχετικῶς, the Greek word is retained in the Latin translation. The reasoning is, Christ made Man was throughly and essentially united to His own Body: that was a habitation of real union, His inhabitation of our souls is of grace only. See the careful explanation of Col. ii. 9 in p. 35.

SCHOLIA more marvellous : for the more it overpasses all mind and speech, the more must it be put beyond all marvel.

But we do not say that the Word made Flesh, i. e., Perfect man, is comprehended by the limit of the body (for that were most silly), but we believe that thus too It fills (as It useth) Heaven and earth and the things below : for all things are full of God, and all things little to Him. But how is He wholly both in each and in all, is hard to understand and say, yea rather is even impossible.

how His
own Body

And He possesses this too (as I suppose) that He is without Body and Unportioned ; yet is the Body called by us the own of the Word, not in the same way as laughing is proper to a man or neighing to a horse, but because it was made His by true union, accomplishing the use of an instrument unto whatever was its nature to work, save only what belongs to sin.

how God
the Word
is sent

Yea and if God the Word be haply said to have been sent, let not any one of you be terrified, thinking, Whither shall the Unembodied advance ? or whither He withdraw of Whom all things are full ? but let him know that the mode of mission is of another kind : not that He Who is sent should change from place to place but rather that He should take on Him a sacred ministry, which we learn was also enjoined to the disciples by Christ the Saviour of all.

see above
pp. 52, 87,
104, 108,
141, 143
note s.

Heb. iii.
1.

Again, the Divine Paul too says of Christ, *Wherefore, holy brethren partakers of the heavenly calling, consider the Apostle and High Priest of our confession, Jesus Christ.* Note that when he shews Him ministering in human wise albeit He is by nature God, then does he also attribute to Him the office of the Apostolate : but it is nought unreasonable (as we said before) if God the Word be said to be sent by the Father, for He most surely fills all things and in no place at all is He absent : but we interpreting things Divine by human words, are wont to understand economies of the Immortal Nature by bodily outlines.

Again though the Holy Ghost fills all things, the blessed Gal. iv. 6. Paul writes and says, *And because ye are sons, God sent forth the Spirit of His Son into your hearts, wherein we cry Abba,*

Father: and the Saviour Himself too saith, *It is expedient for you that I go away, for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you, but when I depart I will send Him to you*^e. We must therefore referring all things to the Rule of piety, follow sure knowledge, for so doing shall we best profit ourselves.

§ 28.
S. John
xvi. 7.

How the holy Virgin is conceived of as Mother of God.

§ 28

The Word out of God the Father was begotten in some ineffable way (for beyond all understanding is His Generation, and as befits the Unembodied Nature): yet is That which is begotten conceived of as the Own Offspring of the Generator and Consubstantial with Him, for therefore is It called also Son: the Name indicating to us the Verity of the (so to say) Birth and Parturition⁶. And since the Father ever liveth and hath being, it must needs be that He on account of Whom He is Father co-live and have co-Being Eternally with Him. *The Word therefore was in the beginning and was God and was with God* (as saith the most wise Evangelist), but in the last times of the world *for us men and for our salvation was made flesh and was made Man*: and not at all letting go what He was, but having His own Nature unchanged and existing ever in the excellences of Godhead, yet undergoing for us economically the emptiness and not despising the poverty that belongs to the human measures. For being *Rich He became poor* (as it is written), that we *by His poverty might become rich*. He was made therefore Man and is said to have endured Generation after the flesh of a woman, because of His taking of the holy Virgin the Body that was united to Him of a truth: whence we say that the holy Virgin is Mother of God, as having borne Him in fleshly or human wise, albeit that He hath His Generation before the ages out of the Father^f.

⁶ τῆς ὥδιν-
νος καὶ
τοῦ τόκου

Ib. i. 1.

Creed of
Nicea

2 Cor.
viii. 9.

see above
24 note q

^e The words, *but when I depart, I will send Him to you*, are omitted, from homocoteleuton, by the latin; but given in the syriac translation, and are necessary, since S. Cyril's whole argument turns

on the word, *sent*, as used of God, although He fill all things.

^f See S. Cyril's first Chapter and defence of it against Andrew, above p. 24 note q.

SCHOLIA And this, that some suppose that the Word was then called to a beginning of being when He became Man, is utterly impious and exceeding discordant. For the Saviour Himself shews them to be most unwise, saying in regard to Himself, *Verily I say unto you, Before Abraham was I am* : for how was He before Abraham Who was born after the flesh many ages after him ? The Divine-uttering John too will I deem suffice to convict them saying, *This was He of Whom I said, After me cometh a Man Who was made before me, for He was before me.*

Leaving therefore as exceeding foolish to contend about what is superfluous, come let us rather go on to what is beyond, I mean unto what is profitable. Let not any be troubled, hearing the holy Virgin called Mother of God, nor let them fill their souls with Jewish unbelief, yea rather with Gentile impiety. For the Jews attacked Christ saying, *For a good work we stone Thee not but for blasphemy because THOU, being a Man, makest Thyself God* : and the children of the Greeks, hearing the doctrines of the Church that God hath been born of a woman, laugh.

see Nest.
hom. l. in
Merc. p.
54 Bal.

But they shall eat the fruit of their own impiety, and shall hear of us, *The fool will utter folly and his heart imagine vain things.* But the plan of our Mystery, albeit to the Jews it be an offence, to the Gentiles folly, yet to us who know it, verily admirable is it and saving and far removed from being to be disbelieved by any. For if there were any whatever who should dare to say that this flesh made of earth had become mother of the bare Godhead, and that she bare out of her own self the Nature which is over the whole creation, the thing would be madness and nothing else : for not of earth has the Divine Nature been made, nor will that which is subject to decay become the root of immortality nor that which is subject to death bear the Life of all things, nor yet the Unembodied be the fruit of the palpable body, that which is subject to birth [bear] that which is superior to birth, that which hath its beginning in time, that which is without beginning.

Isa. xxxii.
6.
1 Cor. i.
23.

But since we affirm that the Word became as we and

took a body like to our bodies and united this of a truth § 30.
unto Himself, in a way namely beyond understanding and
speech, and that He was thus too made Man and born after
the flesh, what is there incredible therein or worthy of
disbelief? albeit the human soul (as we have already full
often said) being of other nature than the body, is yet born
with it, just as we say that it too has been united there-
with. Yet will no one (I deem) suppose that the soul has
the nature of the body as the beginning of its own ex-
istence, but God inplaces it ineffably in the body and it
is born along with it; yet do we define as one the animal
that is made up out of both, i. e., man. Therefore the Word
was God but was made Man too, and since He has been
born after the flesh by reason of the human nature, she who
bare Him is necessarily Mother of God. For if she have
not borne God, let not Him Who is born of her be called
God; but if the God-inspired Scriptures call Him God, as
God Incarnate and made Flesh, and it be not possible in
any other way to be Incarnate, save through birth of a see p. 32
woman, how is she not Mother of God, who bare Him?

But that He is truly God Who was born, we shall know
from the God-inspired Scripture too.

Sayings about Christ.

§ 29

Behold a Virgin shall conceive in the womb and bear a Isa. vii.
Son and they shall call His Name Emmanuel. How then 14.
(tell me) is that which is born of the holy Virgin called
Emmanuel? Emmanuel (as I already said) signifying, that above p.
the Word out of God which is in truth God was made by 188.
reason of the Flesh in nature as we. But He is Emma-
nuel, for He emptied Himself, having undergone a genera-
tion like to ours, and so had His conversation with us.
Hence He is God in flesh and she truly Mother of God,
who bare Him carnally or after the flesh.

Another.

§ 30

For they shall lay down every robe that was gathered by Ib. ix. 5,
guile and garment with its change and shall be willing if 6. LXX.

- SCHOLIA** *they shall have been burnt with fire; for a boy has been born to us and a son given unto us whose rule is upon His Shoulder and His Name is called The Messenger of the great Counsel.* Hearest thou that He was called a Boy because He underwent a birth like us? But Him a Boy by brightest star did the sky point out, did the Magi worship coming from the uttermost limits of the earth, did the Angels bear good tidings of to the Shepherds saying that a *Saviour* was born, and proclaiming *Peace* and the *Good will* of the Father. He is also *the Messenger of the Great Counsel*: for He made known to us the Good-will of the Father, Who in Him was pleased to save the earth, and through Him and in Him to reconcile the world unto Himself: for being reconciled to Christ, we are reconciled to God: for God and truly Son of God the Father is He^g. That He is therefore *the Counsel* of the Father Whose *Messenger* He has been to us, Himself will teach saying, *For so God loved the world that He gave His Only-Begotten Son, that every one that believeth in Him should not perish but should have everlasting life.* But the Only-Begotten Son is He Who was born of the holy Virgin, for the Word Himself was made Man, Who was God in the flesh and thus appeared to those on earth.
- S. Luke** ii. 11.
Ib. 14. Finally He says, *He that believeth on Me hath everlasting life.* And that through Him and in Him we believe on the Father, He hath set forth saying, *He that believeth on Me believeth not on Me but on Him That sent Me and he that seeth Me seeth Him that sent Me.*
- S. John** iii. 16.
Ib. vi. 47. Finally He says, *He that believeth on Me hath everlasting life.* And that through Him and in Him we believe on the Father, He hath set forth saying, *He that believeth on Me believeth not on Me but on Him That sent Me and he that seeth Me seeth Him that sent Me.*
- Ib. xii. 44, 45.**

§ 31

Another.

- Isa. xlix. 1.** *Hear Me, ye isles, and give ear, ye nations: after long time shall He stand, saying, The Lord from the womb of My mother shall they call My Name.* The Word being God, was not ignorant that He should undergo birth, Incarnate of a woman for our sakes: He knew that He shall be called Christ Jesus, God the Father afore proclaiming unto us the *New Name* of His Son *which is blessed in the*

Isa. lxy. 15, 16.
LXX.

^g "God therefore is Christ, to whom we reconciled, are reconciled to God (2 Cor. v. 20)." de recta fide to the Princesses p. 67 b.

earth^h. And note how He mentions His own Mother who bare His Body. Hence if He knows that He is Very God, she who bare Him after the flesh is called Mother of God, and rightly so: but if He be not God, as some daringly, yea rather wickedly, think: let them deprive the holy Virgin herself of this name, that she be not called Mother of God. § 32.

That the Only-Begotten is called God even when appearing as Man. § 32

Solomon praying says, *And now, O Lord God of Israel, let Thy word be credible which Thou spakest unto Thy servant David: shall God in very deed dwell with men on earth?* 2 Chron. vi. 17, 18. Observe that he marvels at the Incarnation of the Word, for it seemed a thing incredible: for then did He dwell with men upon the earth when He was made Man. Else how is this anything special or how worthy of marvel, that God should not depart from these things which Himself had created, cherishing them that is, and holding together the things which had been already made, creating those which have not been yet made? But verily it is a special miracle that God made Man should have dwelt on earth with men, according to the promises long before given to the Divine David. For it is written, *The Lord sware unto* Ps.cxxxii. 11.

^h Either Immanuel, *With us is God*, or, Jesus, *Saviour*, are new names, as specially belonging to the time of the Incarnation. S. Cyril elsewhere speaks of each: in his Thesaurus he had said, "Except the Son were God by Nature, He would not have been called, *With us is God*, which took place when He was born through a woman, assuming likeness with us. Not at all of an angel or of any other generate being is the word, *Emmanuel*, the invention, but the FATHER thus named the SON. And the holy Prophet will be our witness, saying of the Divine Offspring, *And they shall call His name that new Name which the Lord shall give Him* (Isa. lxii. 2 LXX). For a new name verily to the Son is *Emmanuel*, that is, *With us is God*. For before His Presence in the world with flesh, He was and was called merely God; after the Birth from the Virgin, no longer merely God, but, *with us*, i. e. God made man. Since therefore the Father calls His own Son God, let them blush who impiously and unlearnedly say that He was made. For what is by Nature God, is not a creature," cap. 32 p. 303 b c. "This new Name (Jesus)

we say has been given to the Word through the Angel's voice." de recta fide to the Emperor, p. 26 d. "Before the times of the Incarnation no one is found naming the Word out of God, Jesus or Christ, unless by foreknowledge that He should be called this in due time when He also was made flesh. A new name therefore to Him is the Name *Jesus*, when He was made man." de recta fide to the Princesses, p. 120 d. "For a new name to the Word is *JESUS*, concurrent with the birth of the flesh. And the Prophet's oracle will support us, which says, *And they shall call His Name the new name which the Lord shall give Him*." Dial. v. 551 d. "For when will any shew that the Word was called Jesus or Christ, save because He was made man? for He is *Jesus*, because He saves His people, Christ, because anointed for our sakes. Therefore not the Word out of God the Father, as yet bare before the Incarnation, but made in flesh does he call both Jesus and Christ: and of Him questionless does he say that He was *yesterday and to-day, The Same too for ever*." Hom. Pasch. vii. (A.D. 420) p. 101 b c.

SCHOLIA *David and will not reject him, Of the fruit of thy belly shall I set upon thy seat.* But verily he, albeit he believed that the Almighty God would never deny His Promise, yet did more carefully search out the place itself of the Birth and say, *If I go up upon my bed, if I give sleep to mine eyes or slumber to mine eyelids or rest to my temples, until I find a place for the Lord, a tabernacle for the God of Jacob.* At length when he had found out this too through the Spirit, and knew the place of the Birth after the flesh of the Only-Begotten, then did he preach it and say, *Lo we heard of it at Ephratah*, that is, in Bethlehem, *we found it in the fields of the wood.* And that in saying *Ephratah*, he means Bethlehem, the Prophet hath proved, *And thou, Bethlehem, house of Ephratah.* But note that Him, Whom he believed to have been createdⁱ as we in Ephratah, he names *the God of Jacob*, Whose dwelling was in the Tabernacle: for there⁷ did the holy Virgin bear Jesus.

Elsewhere too does he call Him the God of Abraham, saying, *The princes of the people are gathered together with the God of Abraham.* For well-nigh, instructed in the knowledge of things to come, did he see with the eyes of his mind and the illumination of the Holy Ghost, *the princes of the people*, i. e., the holy Apostles, in the obedience of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Seeing therefore that He is named *God of Abraham and God of Jacob*, Who is born of a woman, why is not the holy Virgin Mother of God?

§ 33

Another.

Hab. iii. 2, 3. The Prophet Habaccuc says, *O Lord, I have heard Thy hearing and feared, I have thought on Thy works and shuddered. In the midst of the two living creatures shalt Thou be known, in the coming of the times shalt Thou be shewn, while my soul was troubled, shalt Thou in anger remember mercy. God shall come from Teman, the Holy One from mount Paran. How shall He be known in the midst of the two living creatures? for when He had been born of a woman and had*

ⁱ *Creatum*, made, = γεγεννημένον: the Syriac version gives γεγεννημένον, born.

lived even unto the time of the Precious Cross, *by the grace of God* (as saith blessed Paul) did He by His Body *taste death for every man*. But since He was by Nature God, He rose again unto everlasting life. He therefore is *known*, Who for us endured the Precious Cross, *in the midst of the two living creatures*. And Himself says somewhere to the Jews, *When ye have lifted up the son of man, then shall ye know that I am*. But how, calling Him also God, does he fore-announce that He *shall come from Teman and from mount Paran*? Teman is interpreted South: for Christ was manifested, not from northern regions, but from the southern Judæa, wherein Bethlehem is.

§ 34.
Heb. ii. 9.

S. John
viii. 28.

Since therefore He Who has been named Lord and God, cometh out of the southern Judea, for He was born in Bethlehem, how is not the holy Virgin Mother of God?

Another.

§ 34

In ^k Genesis it is written, *And Jacob was left alone, and there wrestled with him a Man until the morning: but he saw that he was not prevailing against him and he touched the flat of his thigh as he was wrestling with him¹ and said to him, Let me go for the morning ascendeth. But he said, I do not let thee go, except thou bless me. And after more, And He blessed him there: and he called the name of that place, The Face of God: for I saw (he said) God face to face and my life is preserved. And the sun rose when he passed the face of God: and he halted on his thigh. Mystic is the sense of that which is written, for it appears to hint at the wrestling of the Jews which they used in regard to Christ, well-nigh wrestling with Him, nevertheless they were overcome and will themselves implore His Blessing, if through faith they turn them to Him at the last times. But note this, it was a man who was wrestling, and Jacob called him The Face of God: nor that alone, for he knew that He is God in truth. *For I have seen* (he said) *God face to face and my life is preserved*. For Em-*

Gen.
xxxii.
24—26.

Ib. 29—
31.

^k see above pp. 106, 107.

¹ Thus too the Syriac version, not ad-

ding, and the flat of Jacob's thigh was out of joint.

SCHOLIA manuel is by Nature God, yet is He called also *The Face of God*: for He is the *Image* of the Father's Substance: thus did He call Himself to the Jews, saying respecting God the Father, *Nor have ye seen His Face and ye have not His Word abiding in you, for Whom He sent, Him ye believe not.*

But that Very God is that Man Who was wrestling with Jacob, holy Writ will again give proof, for it says, *And the Lord said unto Jacob, Arise, go up to Bethel and dwell there, and make there an Altar to God that appeared unto thee when thou fleddest from the face of Esau thy brother. For returning from Mesopotamia and being then in fear of Esau, he sent over Jabok his children and all his stuff, and he was left alone and there wrestled a man with him.*

§ 35

Another.

Blessed Daniel setting forth to us a dread vision says, *I was seeing in a night vision, and lo with the clouds of Heaven came as it were the Son of Man and came even unto the Ancient of Days and they brought Him into His Presence and there was given Him dominion and honour and a kingdom, and all peoples nations and languages shall serve Him: His Power a Power for ever which shall not pass, and His Kingdom shall not be destroyed.* Hearest thou how he does not mention that he had seen simply a man, lest Emmanuel should be believed to be one of us and like as we, but *as it were the Son of Man*? For the Word being by Nature God *was made in the likeness of men* and was found *in fashion as a Man*, in order that in the Same might Both be conceived of, neither bare man nor yet the Word apart from manhood and flesh. Yet does he tell that to Him was given the principedom and honour which He ever had; for he says that *all peoples nations and languages shall serve Him.* Since therefore even when in the human nature the Only-Begotten Word of God hath the creature serving Him and the Principedom of His Father and Himself, and the holy Virgin bare Him after the flesh: how is not the holy Virgin conceived of as Mother of God?

Of the Passion of Christ, and that it is profitable that we speak in one manner and another of One and the Same, nor do we divide Him into twain. § 36

Saint Paul sets forth to us the Saving Passion, for he saith at one time, *By the Grace of God for all tasted He death*, Heb. ii. 9. and also, *For I delivered to you in the first place that which I too received, that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures and that He was buried and that He rose again the third day*: moreover the most wise Peter also saith, *Forasmuch as Christ suffered for us in the Flesh*. Seeing therefore we believe that One is our Lord Jesus Christ, i. e. God the WORD beheld in human form or made man as we, in what manner can we attribute Passion to Him and still hold Him impassible, as God?

The Passion therefore will belong to the Economy, God the Word esteeming as His own the things which pertain to His own Flesh, by reason of the Ineffable Union, and remaining external to suffering as far as pertains to His own Nature, for God is Impassible. And no wonder, since we see that the soul itself of a man, if its body suffer somewhat, remains external to the suffering as far as belongs to its own nature, yet is it not conceived of as external to suffering, in that the body which suffers is its very own: and albeit it be impalpable and simple, yet is that which suffers not foreign to it. Thus will you understand of Christ too the Saviour of all. see above p. 193

But I will make use of examples which may shew us by way of shadow, that the Only-Begotten shared in the suffering as far as belongs to the ownness of His Body, yet remained free from suffering, as God. Almighty God then was bidding the most wise Moses to work miracles, that Israel might believe him that he was sent from God, and that they should be set free from violence: He says, *And thou shalt take of the water of the river, and pour it upon the earth, and the water which thou shalt take from the river, shall be blood upon the earth*. But we say that the water is an image of life, and that the Son proceeding out of the Father as out of a river, by reason of being of the

SCHOLIA Same Essence, is by Nature Life, and therefore quickens all things. But when (He says) thou shalt have poured forth the water, *it shall be blood upon the earth.* Hence, ⁸ de when He was made flesh of ⁸ the earth, i. e., when He girt Himself with flesh from the earth, then is He said to have suffered death in it like to our death, albeit He is by Nature Life.

In Leviticus God intimates that the leper is polluted and impure and therefore bids that he should be put forth of the camp, and that if the disease be healed, he should thus be cleansed. *And they shall take for him that is cleansed two clean birds and cedar wood and scarlet wool and hyssop, and the priest shall command and they shall kill one of the birds in an earthen vessel in living water, and the living bird shall he take and shall bathe it in the blood of the bird that was killed in the living water and he shall sprinkle upon him who is cleansed from the leprosy seven times, and he shall be clean.* Us there rendereth clean and washeth away the soils of our uncleanness and driveth off the mortality of fleshly desire the Most Precious Blood of Christ and the purification of all-holy Baptism. But note this (for letting alone subtil search into the force of the Scriptures, we will for the present make mention of what helps to the mystery): he compares Christ to two birds^m, not as though there were two sons, but rather one out of two, the Godhead and the manhood, gathered together into union. The birds are clean, for our Lord Jesus Christ did no sin, but the Word was holy, in Godhead and in Manhood: He is likened again to flying things⁹, by reason of His being high above the earth and from above, for Christ is *the Man out of Heaven*, albeit the holy Virgin bare His Fleshⁿ.

Lev. xiv.
4—7.

⁹ πτηνούς

1 Cor.
xv. 47.

^m We still possess a long Letter of S. Cyril's to Acacius Bishop of Scythopolis (or Bethshan), illustrating the unity of Godhead and Manhood in Christ, as typified, 1, in the two goats (Lev. xvi. 7 sqq.), whereof one was sacrificed, one went free, yet both were needed to make up the perfect Atonement: 2, in the two birds for the cleansing of the leper, as here. Epp. pp. 121—132.

ⁿ See Ecumenic Letter to John archbishop of Antioch, 3 Epp. p. 72, and above p. 44 note e. S. Gregory of Nazianzum, in his famous Letter to Cledonius (Ep. ad Cled. 1) speaks of that Apollinarian error, of which S. Cyril was suspected, in these words, "If any one say that the Flesh hath come down out of Heaven, and is not hence and of us (παρ' ἡμῶν), be he anathema. For that the second Man is out of Heaven, and

How then is He from above and out of Heaven? God the Word from above and out of the Father, taking flesh from the holy Virgin and manifesting it as His own, as though He had brought it down from above and out of Heaven, said, *No man hath ascended up into Heaven, save He That came down from Heaven, the Son of Man*: for He ever allotteth to His own Flesh that which is His own, and once united to it is accounted one with it. § 36. .
see above
p. 101
S. John
iii. 13.

Yet see, when the one bird is slain, the other is dipped in his blood, yet died not. And what is this? The Word lived, even though His Flesh died, and He was participant in the Passion, through ownness and union with it. Therefore the Same was living, as God, but like as He made His Body His own, so did He receive into Himself in all ownness¹ the sufferings too of His Body, Himself suffering nought in His own Nature. It is therefore helpful and necessary unto profit that in regard to Christ we should admit the *after one manner and another*, as belonging to one and the same person, yet should not permit Him to be severed into two sons, albeit the things done be said to be of diverse kind and in no ways harmonizing with one another. ¹ κατ'οὐ-
κείωσιν
see head-
ing of sec-
tion and
below p.
228.

This is what I mean: we say that God the Word is born out of a woman after the flesh, albeit Himself give to all to be born, and call to the birth the things which are not yet

As is the Heavenly, such too they that are heavenly, and, No one hath gone up into Heaven except He Who came out of Heaven, the Son of Man, and whatever else there is, is to be understood as said, because of the union with the Heavenly (διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν οὐράνιον ἔνωσιν)." t. 1 p. 740 ed. Par. 1609.

S. Cyril in 7th Paschal homily (A.D. 420, probably almost ten years before his books against Nestorius) had said, "God the Word was born on earth through the holy Virgin, after the flesh, but came down from heaven. How then does He say that *the Son of man came down out of Heaven*? how again does He say that *He will go up where He was before* (S. John vi. 62)? Thou seest therefore how drawing in the ineffable concurrence in union unparted and unsevered (ἁδιαστάτω τε καὶ ἀδιόριστῳ . . . ἐνό-
τητι), He would have One Christ both

before flesh and with flesh confessed by us. Therefore He says that His flesh albeit by nature of earth came down from above and out of Heaven, and will ascend into Heaven too *where it was before*. For that which is inherent in Him by Nature He puts about His own flesh as being not other than it as regards the Economic union. And we will not because of the utter union of things unlike in their nature, take away the fact that One is properly the Radiance of the Father, the other again the little flesh (τὸ σαρκίον) of earth or perfect man: but even thus distinguishing and in mere ideas (see above p. 78 note z) parting the plan of each, we will draw them in to union again unparted. For *the Word was made flesh*, according to the holy Evangelist, not turned into flesh." p. 102 b c d. See also de recta fide to the Emperor, p. 36 a b.

SCHOLIA born. How then doth the Same both undergo birth and call to being? After one manner and another. For He was born, in that He is conceived of as Man like us, He calleth into being the things that are not, in that He is God by Nature; for it is written of Him, *The Little one waxed and grew strong, filled with wisdom and grace*, albeit He is by Nature all-Perfect as God, and out of His own Fullness imparteth spiritual gifts to the saints, and is Himself Wisdom and the Giver of grace. How then waxeth the Little one and is *filled with wisdom and grace*? After one manner and another. For the Same, Man alike and God, makes His own the human, by reason of the union, and is all-Perfect and Giver of wisdom and grace as God.

S. Luke
ii. 40.

see above
p. 114
note h

see above
p. 57 note
y

He is called First-born and Only-Begotten, but if one should examine the force of the words, the First-born will be He Who is First-born among many brethren, the Only-Begotten as Sole, no longer First-born among many brethren. Yet is the Same one and other; how then? After one manner and another. First-born among many brethren by reason of the human nature, the Same again Only-Begotten, as Alone Begotten of the Alone God the Father.

He is said to have been sanctified through the Spirit and moreover to sanctify^o those who come to Him; He was baptized according to the Flesh and was baptizing in the Holy Ghost: how then doth the Same both sanctify and is sanctified, baptizeth and is baptized? After one manner and another; for He is sanctified humanly, and thus is He baptized: He sanctifies Divinely and baptizeth in the Holy Ghost.

Himself raising the dead was raised from the dead, and being Life by Nature is said to quicken. And how again? After one manner and another. For the Same was raised from the dead and is said to be quickened after the Flesh, yet quickens and raises the dead as God. He suffers and does not suffer^p, after one manner and another: for He

^o "He sanctifies, being Holy by Nature, as God; He is sanctified with us humanly, when taking the likeness with us (and in this respect I mean He is

sanctified albeit having authority over all as God), He is not ashamed to call us brothers." dial. vi. p. 596 e.

^p "If being God Immortal, He is said

suffers humanly in the Flesh as Man, He is impassible § 36.
Divinely as God.

Himself hath adored with us, for YE *worship* (He says) S. John iv. 22.
what ye know not, WE worship what we know: yet is He
to be adored also, for to Him *every knee boweth*: and this Phil. ii. 10.
again after one manner and another. For He worshippeth
as having assumed the nature that payeth worship, He
again the Same is worshipped as surpassing the nature
that worshippeth in that He is conceived of as God. Yet
must we not sever the worship unto man by himself and chapter 8
God by Himself, nor yet as connected with God by equality
of dignity, while the Persons are dissevered, do we say that
the man is worshipped with Him (for it were replete with
the uttermost impiety): but we must worship One Word
of God Incarnate and made man, and at the same time
believe that the Body united to Him was ensouled with a
reasonable soul like ours. For neither did God Almighty
bid two first-borns to be worshipped as well by us as by
the holy Angels (for One is He Who was brought Heb. i. 6.
into the world): and if we look more carefully into the mode of
this bringing in, we find it to be the mystery of the Eco-
nomy with flesh. But He was brought into the world then
when He was made Man, albeit He be seen to be in His
own Nature most far removed from the earth and be be-
lieved to be truly in the Excellence of Godhead: for Other
than the elements is their Maker. Therefore above the
things which Himself made is He by Nature in that He is
God by Nature. Yet is One (as I said before) to be wor-
shipped then too when He is *among many brethren*: for
then is He for that reason called *First-born*.

One^a did the blind from the birth when wondrously
healed worship: for *Jesus* (it says) *finding him in the temple* S. John v. 14.
said, Dost THOU believe on the Son of God, and he said, *Who* Ib. ix. 35.
is He, Lord, that I might believe on Him? Christ manifest- Ib. 36.

to die as man, being Most High as God
He is said to be exalted as man." Thes.
cap. 20 p. 196 c. See the very similar
words near the end of the Quod Unus,
pp. 302—304, and the notes f, g, h.

^a See this same argument in the trea-
tise de Recta Fide to the Emperor
Theodosius p. 31, put forth anew in the
little Dialogue De Incarnatione Unige-
niti, p. 703: see also above, p. 76.

SCHOLIA
S. John
ix. 37.

ing Himself embodied to him says, *Thou hast both seen Him and He That speaketh with thee is He.* Seest thou how He used the singular number, not permitting God and man to be conceived of separately? yea rather if one were to call Emmanuel man, it signifies not bare man (far from it) but the Word of God united to our nature. As One did the Divine disciples worship Him, when beholding Him wondrously borne on the waters they worshipped *saying, Truly^r Thou art the Son of God.*

S. Matt.
xiv. 33.

see chap-
ter 8

When therefore we say that man is co-worshipped with God, we have brought in a gross severance. For the word, *With*, except it be said of one by composition, will always full surely persuade us to conceive of two. For like as no one will be said to live with himself nor again to eat with to pray with and to walk with himself (for the *with* prefixed to the word introduces a declaration of two persons): so if one say that the man is co-worshipped with God, he will without question say two sons and severed one from another: for the plan of union, if it be

^r S. Cyril's argument on those words in his Thesaurus, against the Arians who denied the Son's Godhead, equally holds here as to its being no mere man apart by himself who was walking on the water. S. Cyril says, "What then will they say who contend against the Truth and follow only their own likings, when they see the whole choir of the holy Apostles together worshipping the Son as God and saying with an oath that *Truly He is the Son of God?* for if according to their unlearning He is one of the creatures how is He *truly Son of God?* for it were impossible that one who has not by nature come forth out of any, and who has not the own (τὸ ἴδιον) of the essence of him who begat him, be truly son. And how if the disciples made a mistake in saying this, was the Saviour silent, albeit He did not disregard them when they made mistakes? and verily to Peter when on one occasion he answered not aright, He says, *Get behind Me satan, thou art an offence to Me because thou savourest not God's but man's.* But since He was silent, when called *truly the Son of God*, in that He rebuked them not as mistaken, it is clear that He accepts them as saying aright. Seeing then that

the holy Apostles say that He is Son and *truly* so, and that Christ Himself assents to it, who will endure them who bruit something else?" Thes. cap. 32, pp. 308 d e. "What did the most wise disciples, esteeming Him as Son not as creature? For when stepping on edge of wave, strewing neath His Feet with ineffable might the moist and soon-dissolving nature of the waters, He coursed the wide expanse, and gave the holy disciples an unwonted wonder, and at length of His own will went with them and sailed in their little skiff, albeit He might most easily, had He willed to do it, have been borne on the waves themselves: they in astonishment and reflecting on that resistless authority, began to worship saying, *Truly Thou art Son of God.* Will they then, doing this with an oath and saying that He is *truly Son of God*, be reasonably accused of falsehood and be taken and convicted of aberration from the truth? For if He is not Son, sprung of the Essence of Him Who begat Him, but a creature, gilded with the glory of sonship and having the appellation in mere words, why did they worship Him? why did the initiators and heralds of the Truth call Him Son?" Dial ii. p. 437 d e.

conceived of in regard to mere equality of dignity or authority, is convicted of being untrue. And this has been shewn by us in many words. § 37.

Against those who say the human befit God the Word by reference only. § 37

Some prate concerning the Economy with flesh of the Only-Begotten and, bringing down to our frail perceptions the Mystery venerable and great and most dear to the Spirits above, whereby also we are saved, pollute the comeliness and beauty of the Truth, whereas they ought, not to try and prop up whatever seems to them right, but rather with subtil and keen eye of the mind to look into the aim of the Sacred Writings and thus to go on the right road, following what the most holy fathers have searched out², who taught by the illuminings of the Holy Ghost, defined for us the Symbol of faith, saying that the God the Word Himself Which was in mode ineffable^s begotten out of the Essence of the Father, by Whom all things were made which are in Heaven and which are in earth, for us men and for our salvation came down, was made flesh, was made man, suffered, ascended into heaven, will in his season come to judge quick and dead. ² examinarunt

But there are certain who deem that they are learned and knowing and are puffed up with pride and swelling, who if they hear these words, mock, and deem that those things which are so rightly said, are mad ravings³: while we specially believe that the knowledge of the Truth lay open through the illumination of the Holy Ghost to the holy Fathers. But they, as if they alone could think what is better, deem that not the Only-Begotten Son of God Himself, God the Word Which is out of His Essence, suffered in His own Flesh for us humanly, albeit conceived of as God He have in His own Nature the inability to suffer; but putting as man separately and by himself him that was born of the holy Virgin, and attributing to him to what extent it seems good to them, a kind of glory, they say that he was united to the Word of God the Father. And ³ deliramenta

^s inaestimabiliter, put at the beginning of § 28 to translate ἀπορήτως; the Syriac version too gives *unspeakably*.

SCHOLIA explaining the mode of the union, they say that there was given him by God equality of dignity or authority and to be called by like name both Christ and Son and Lord. But if the man who is invented by them be said to suffer ought, it must (they say) be referred to God the Word Himself, in that he is connected to Him by equality of worth, while in their severed natures each is what he is.

I will open the force of their opinions, so far as I can, bringing forward instances from the Sacred Writings. Christ hungered, was wearied with the journey, slept, entered into the boat, was stricken with blows by the attendants, was scourged by Pilate, received the spittle of the soldiers, who piercing with the spear His Side, offered vinegar mingled with gall to His Mouth: yea and He tasted death, suffering the Cross and other contumelies of the Jews. All these things they declare to have befallen indeed the man, but to be referred to the Person of the Very Son. But we believe, as in One God the Father Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible, so too in One our Lord Jesus Christ His Son. And we refuse to divide Emmanuel into man by himself and into the Word by Himself: but knowing that the Word became truly Man too as we, we say that Himself the Same is God of God, and in human wise Man as we of a woman. And we assert that by reason of the ownness of the flesh He suffered indeed infirmities, yet reserved to His Nature its impassibility, in that He was not Man alone but the Same therewith also God by Nature. And like as the Body was His own, so too the natural and blameless passions of the body and the things which by the forwardness of some were put upon Him.

⁴ ἔπαθεν
ἀπαθῶς,
as above
p. 228
end.

He suffered without suffering⁴ Who did not therefore humble Himself that He might only be like us, but because (as I said before) He had reserved to His Nature superiority to all these things. But if we should say that through conversion or mutation of His own Nature He had passed into the nature of the flesh^t, it would be in all ways

^t This most carefully guarded language of S. Cyril is not the effect of any

necessary for us even against our will to confess that the Hidden and Divine Nature was passible. But if He have remained unchanged albeit He have been made man as we, and it be a property of the Heavenly Nature that It cannot suffer, and the passible body have become His own through the union:—He suffers when the Body suffers, in that it is said to be His own body, He remains Impassible in that it is truly His property to be unable to suffer.

And if Emmanuel have been glorified through suffering, as Himself says when about to suffer for us the Precious Cross, *Now is the son of man glorified*, why do they not blush, attributing the glory of the Passion to a man having connection only with Him in Equality of dignity? for as they deem, He connected with Himself according to the Will and Good-pleasure of the Father a man only and made him equal to His own glory, and permitted that by like name he should be styled both Christ and Son and God and Lord:—hence neither is the Word truly Incarnate nor was He at all made man. And haply to call the holy doctors of the whole world false and liars, will do no harm? for either let them say, yea rather come forward and prove that the mode of connection which is brought in by

S. John
xiii. 31.

necessity arising from controversy with Nestorius, but of a mind from the beginning educated in careful precision of thought and utterance as regards the Mystery of the Incarnation. In his 7th Paschal homily (A.D. 420), after speaking of great agricultural distress in various degrees of severity in different villages in Egypt, S. Cyril points out that it is the due punishment of their sin and speaks of the proneness to pity of the Only-Begotten, and that He is God and Man in One. See a passage quoted from this Homily, above p. 227 note n, and the closing words of the extract, "For the Word was made flesh, as saith the holy Evangelist, not turned into flesh; for he says not this, but called Him flesh, instead of saying in full man." Hom. Pasch. vii. 102 d. And in the Thesaurus, "It was then the aim of the Incarnate Word to shew clearly that He really put about Him flesh and has been made man, not casting away the being God the Word: for it was not possible that the human race should in other way be saved. Yet lest any hearing that He has been made flesh should suppose that

the Unchangeable Word of God has been transformed and become ought else than He was from the beginning, needs does He at one time utter words befitting man, at another displays deeds belonging to Godhead alone, in order that both together (τὸ συναμφοτέρον) may be conceived of . . . Sin, as sinless and unknowing to have it He rightly rejects, but suffers His body and His human nature to suffer what belong to the nature itself, as a proof that He really and truly bears flesh and was made man, according to the Scriptures. But since (as we said above) it behoved Him to be shewn forth as God even in flesh, He works sometimes what belong to God and says to them who see Him, *If ye believe not Me*, i.e. by reason of looking on a man, *yet believe My works, that ye may know and believe that I am in the Father and the Father in Me*. Hence the things said and wrought in God-befitting wise shew that the Saviour is God: and again the things said and done humanly shew that He is of a truth man. For this is the force of the mystery." Thes. cap. 24 p. 231 a b c d.

SCHOLIA them has the force of incarnation and that that is that the Word was made flesh; or if they think that these things are not so, why do they invent for us a mode of unconnected connection, the truth being neglected? whereas it would be fitting that they should say that the Word of God the Father was united to our humanity, for thus in His own flesh is He conceived to have suffered what belongs to man, but so far as pertains to the Nature of the Godhead, He is free from all that disturbs, as God.

And that by speaking of *reference*^u, which I know not how they invented, they withdraw Emmanuel from His Glory and make Him barely one of the Prophets, and set Him amid the measure of the many, and are full surely caught thus doing, I will prove, giving examples from the Divine Scripture.

There once murmured^x in the wilderness against Moses
 Ex. xvi. 3. and Aaron the people of Israel saying, *Would we had died, stricken by the Lord in Egypt when we were sitting at the flesh pots and were eating bread even to fulness.* Therefore the most wise Moses says (for it were like that he should
 Ib. 8. reply to men so rashly impatient), *But who are we? for neither against us is your murmuring but against God.* And in those times even God Almighty used to reign through the holy Prophets over the people of Israel, but they in this too, slack of courage approached the Divine Samuel saying, *Lo THOU hast grown old and thy sons walk not in thy ways and now set over us a king which may judge us even as the other nations.* The Prophet felt this grievously but
 1 Sam. viii. 5. Almighty God said, *Hear the voice of the people even as they have spoken to thee, for not thee have they rejected but Me they have rejected that I should not reign over them.*

And elsewhere too has Christ said to the holy Apostles,
 S. John xiii. 20. *He who receiveth you hath received Me:* and He promiseth that He will address the merciful before His Tribunal,
 S. Matt. xxv. 34. *Come, ye blessed of My Father, receive the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.* And ac-

^u Probably ἀναφορά, which S. Cyril uses several times in the *Quod Unus est Christus*, below pp. 255, 257 &c., and especially on this very subject, p. 259.

^x See the same illustrations in the treatise *Quod Unus est Christus* below, p. 259.

knowledging as His own⁵ their righteous ways towards those to whom they had dealt kindly, He says, *In that ye did it to one of these least, to Me did ye it.* § 37.
⁵ famili-
ariter
S. Matt.
xxv. 40.

Lo in these instances is clearly recognized the mode of reference of what kind it is. The people of Israel were murmuring against Moses and Aaron and the matter had reference to God, yet were Moses and Aaron men as we. In the same way too will you conceive as to the others whereof we have just made mention, yet were some (as I said before) holy men and worthy of admiration, yet men as we. Is it then in this way that the man too who is connected (as they call it) with God the Word, will have reference of his sufferings to Himward? And how will he not now be mere man and apart and nought else? Hence Emmanuel is not truly God, is not Only-Begotten Son, is not God by Nature.

Why then was no one of the rest honoured by God the Word with equality of dignity or of sway, but they contend that this man alone obtained all things equal? specially seeing that God, the Saviour of all men, judgeth *not according to the person but righteous judgement*, as Himself maketh mention. Why then doth He co-sit Alone? how will He come as Judge, with Angels waiting on Him? why is He Alone worshipped as well by us as by the spirits above? S. John
vii. 24.

But in good truth it is so (says he), for we find that thou also dost the same, for thou confessest that He suffered, in that thou attributest to Him the sufferings of the flesh, albeit thou keepest Him impassible as God.

But we, good sirs, (shall I say) having first united to the Word the human, have to the flesh allotted the sufferings, have kept Him impassible as God: for though He hath become as we, yet are we cognizant of His God-befitting Excellence and of His Supreme Endowments.

Hence first putting the Union as a basis and foundation to the Faith, we confess that He suffered in the flesh, that He remained again superior to suffering in that He possesses Impassibility in His own Nature. But if we are

SCHOLIA diligent to put apart God and Man, severing the Natures
 ἑναφορὰν one from another, and then say that in reference ⁶ only does
 the Word of God make His own what have befallen His
 S. Matt. Body; He That is born of the holy Virgin, *Emmanuel*,
 i. 23. *which is, interpreted, With us is God*, will haply have but
 the measure of Moses and Aaron.

Thus even though He say through the holy Prophets,
 Isa. i. 6. *My Back have I given to scourges, My Cheeks to blows, My
 Face I turned not from the shame of spittings*, and again,
 Ps. xxii. *They dug My Hands and My Feet, they told all My Bones*,
 16, 17. and again, *They gave for My meat gall and for My thirst*
 Ps. lxi. *they gave Me to drink vinegar* : we shall allot all these things
 21. to the Only-Begotten Himself, Who suffered Economically
 Isa. liii. in the flesh according to the Scriptures (for *with His wheal*
 5. *were WE healed, and Himself hath been weakened because of
 our sins*), yet do we know that He is Impassible by Nature.
 For if (as I just said) Himself is Man alike and God, with
 reason do the Sufferings belong to His Manhood, His own
 as God is it to be conceived of as superior to suffering.

Thus minded shall we be pious and through such right
 Phil. iii. thoughts advancing, we shall attain unto the prize of our
 14. *high calling* in Christ Jesus, through Whom and with
 Whom to God the Father be glory with the Holy Ghost
 unto ages of ages, Amen.

THE SAME THAT CHRIST IS ONE

by way of dispute with Hermias

Wrong thought of Christ either before the Incarnation or when Incarnate. Nestorius. If Virgin not Mother of God, Christ not GOD. Objection to the word "was made." He takes ours, gives us His. Meaning of name "Christ." The Incarnation gives to the SON names no longer common to the FATHER and the HOLY GHOST. „Connection,, „Reference,, „ἀναφορά. Not Two Natures after the Incarnation: yet no confusion. The Burning Bush a type. Union. Phil. ii. 5—9. The "emptying." A man not "made man." 2 Cor. i. 19. „Connection,, undoes union. "Yesterday To-day and for ever." S. John i. 29—31: S. Matth. xiv. 32, xiii. 41. ἀνθρώπου. The Incarnate Son called in O.T. "the glory of the Lord." Objections put forward: Sanctifier and sanctified, received glory and exalted, learning obedience and forsaken, fear of death, weariness, sleep, advancing in wisdom. Perfect through sufferings. Impossible yet "suffered in the flesh." 2 Cor. xiii. 3, 4. Equality of honour involves duality. S. John iii. 16. Phil. ii. 5—11. S. John xvii. 5, vi. 38. S. Matth. xxviii. 19. 1 Cor. i. 22—25. Suffering in the flesh. ONE SON begotten from Eternity from forth the FATHER, in the last times born of a woman.

A. THERE shall no satiety of holy teachings ever come to them who are truly sound in mind and who have gathered the life-giving knowledge into their understanding. For it is written, *Not by bread alone shall a man live but by every word that goeth forth through the mouth of God.* For the mind's nourishment and spiritual *bread which stayeth man's heart*, as is sung in the book of Psalms, is the word which is from God. S. Matth. iv. 4.
Ps. civ. 15.

B. You say well.

A. The wise therefore and eloquent among the Greeks admire elegance of speech, and good language¹ is among their chiefest aims and they make their boast in mere refinements of words and revel in bombast of language: and their poets have for their material falsehood, wrought by proportions and measures unto what is graceful and tuneful; but of the truth they reckon full little, sick with a scarcity of right and profitable doctrine, I mean regarding God Who is by Nature and truly, yea rather as the most

¹ τὸ εὖ ἡ-
γορεῖν

CHRIST holy Paul says, *They became vain in their imaginations and their heart void of understanding was darkened. Saying that they were wise they became foolish and changed the glory of the Incorruptible God into the likeness of the image of corruptible man and of birds and four-footed beasts and creeping things.*

B. True, verily of them said God by the voice of Isaiah, Is. xliv. 20. *Know ye that their heart is ashes and they are deceived.*

A. Thus much for them : but they who have become inventors of unholy heresies, profane and apostate and enlarging their unbridled mouth against the Divine glory and uttering things perverted, will be caught as having of their folly slipped into charges not slighter than those of the infatuation of the Greeks or haply into charges even surpassing theirs. For it were better for them not to have known the way of truth than having known it to turn back from the holy commandment given to them : for the true proverb hath come to them, *The dog returned to his own vomit, and, The washed sow to the wallowing in the mire.* For they parted amongst themselves the charges of blasphemy against Christ and like fierce and bitter wolves they waste the flocks for which Christ died, and despoil what is His, multiplying to themselves that which is not theirs, as it is written, and weighting their yoke² heavily, of whom may be said with much reason, *They went out from us but they were not of us.*

B. Surely.

A. Seasonably does our discourse contend about such things. For some in their lack of understanding do bring down the Only-Begotten Word of God from His Supreme Excellence and lower Him from Equality with God the Father, affirming that He is not Consubstantial, nor liking to crown Him with an Identity Exact and of Nature : others going as it were along the same road with these and falling into the snare of death and pitfall of Hades turn aside³ the mystery of the Economy with flesh of the Only-Begotten and pursue a folly fraternal (so to speak) with the former. For the one will be caught dragging down as it were (so far as in them lies) from the heights of His

Hab. ii. 6. LXX.
² or collar, κλοιὸς
¹ S. John ii. 19.

Prov. ix. 18. LXX.
³ παρενθ-
 ὑνουσι

Godhead the Word sprung of God the Father ere yet In- Is One
carnate; the others have elected to make war with Him
Incarnate, well-nigh finding fault (daring ones!) with His
Pitying grace, maintaining forsooth that it counselled
not well for that He underwent flesh and the measures of
our emptiness, i. e. was made man and *was seen on earth* Bar. iii.
and conversed with men though God by Nature and co- 37.
seated with the Father.

B. You say rightly.

A. God-inspired Scripture therefore will cry out against
the unlearning of them both, setting forth to us the truth
and shewing that feeble and of none account is *their* speech,
and establishing on the path of the Godhead them who
are used to view with subtil and accurate eye of under-
standing the Mystery thereof. But who they will be who
in unhallowed wise debase the so august and ineffable
Economy of the Saviour (for you seem to be in no small
degree troubled about this very thing) I would fain ask
you.

B. You testify rightly, *for with jealousy am I jealous for* 1 Kings
the Lord, and, yet more, goaded am I distraught and that xix. 10.
exceedingly. And I fear when I look whither their words
will end. For they adulterate the faith that was delivered
to us, using the inventions of the new-seen dragon and
pouring like venom into the souls of the simpler certain
frigid and perverse things and full of infatuation.

A. But who is this new-seen dragon and what his triflings
against the doctrines of the Truth tell to me who ask.

B. The new-seen dragon, this crooked one and who has
his tongue drunk with venom, who all-but bids farewell to
the tradition of the initiators of the world, yea rather
to all the God-inspired Scripture, and who innovates
what seems good to him and says that the holy Virgin is
not Mother of God, but mother of Christ and mother of
man, bringing in moreover other things discordant and
senseless, upon the right and sincere doctrines of the Ca-
tholic Church.

A. You say (I ween) Nestorius, for I understand, but I do

CHRIST not know, my friend, the actual state of his words: how does he say that the holy Virgin is not Mother of God?

Nest. B. She bare not (he says) God: for the Word was before
serm. 1 in her too, yea rather before every age and time, Co-eternal
Merc. p. with God the Father.
55 Bal.

A. They will therefore manifestly deny this too, that Emmanuel is God, and to no purpose as it seems, does the
S. Matth. Evangelist interpret the name saying, *Which is interpreted,*
i. 23. *With us is God*, for thus did God the Father clearly affirm through the voice of the Prophet that He was to be called Who has been born of the holy Virgin after the flesh, as God Incarnate.

B. Yet it appears to them to be not so, but they would
see Schol. say that with us is God or the Word out of God, in the
§ 7. way of succouring us: for He hath saved all under heaven through him who was born of woman.

A. And was He not (tell me) with Moses too freeing Israel from the land of the Egyptians and the tyranny there,
Ps. *in a strong hand and a high arm*, as it is written? shall we
cxxxvi. not find Him after this also saying clearly to Joshua, *And*
12. *as I was with Moses so will I be with thee too?*
Josh. i. 5.

B. True.

A. Why then was none of these called Emmanuel, but the name befitted Him alone Who was wondrously born after the flesh of a woman in the last times of the world?

B. How then shall we deem that God has been born of a woman? that the Word partook of Being, in her and from forth her?

A. Away with so frigid ill-advice⁴! For these are the words of one who wanders, and of a mind diseased with a turning aside to what it ought not, to think that the Ineffable Being of the Only-Begotten has become fruit of flesh: He was as God Co-Eternal with the Father Who begat Him and Ineffably begotten of Him by Nature. But to those who would know clearly how and in what manner He appeared in likeness to us and became man, the Divine Evangelist John will make it known, saying,

S. John i. *And the Word was made flesh and tabernacled in us* (and
14.

⁴ εἰκαι-
βουλίας,
ill-coun-
sel

we saw His glory, (the glory as of the Only-Begotten of the Father) full of grace and truth. IS ONE

B. Yet if the Word has become (they say) flesh, no longer hath It remained Word but hath left being what It was.

A. Verily this is jugglery⁵ and humbug⁶ and the inventions of a mind beside itself and nought else. For they (it appears) are supposing that the word Was made⁷ indicates as of unavoidable necessity, turning and change. ⁵ τερθρεία
⁶ λήρος
⁷ ἐγένετο

B. Yes (they say), and they moreover confirm their affirmation, taking proofs out of the God-inspired Scripture itself. For it has been somewhere said (he says) of Lot's wife that *she WAS MADE a pillar of salt*, and besides of Moses' Rod that *he cast it on the ground and it WAS MADE a serpent*. For in these cases a change of nature took place. Gen. xix.
26.
Ex. iv. 3.

A. Therefore when certain sing, *And the Lord WAS MADE to me a refuge*, and again, *O Lord, Thou WERT MADE a refuge, to us in generation and generation*, what now will they say^a? hath He Who is hymned, letting go His being God, passed by a change into being *a refuge*, and removed He by Nature into something other than what He was at first? Ps. xciv.
22.
Ps. xc. 1.

B. How is such a thing not incongruous and unbefitting Him Who is by Nature God: for being by Nature without change, He abideth full surely what He was and ever is, even though He be said to be made a refuge to any?

A. You spoke most excellently, and very right. Hence the mention of God being brought forward, if *Was made* be said by any body, how is it not unlearned and unholy exceedingly to suppose that it means change, and not rather to strive to conceive of it in some other way, and to turn in wisdom to what most especially befits and is congruous to the Unchangeable God?

B. How then do we say that *the Word WAS MADE flesh*, pre-

^a The two texts quoted here were used against the Arians by S. Athanasius, to vindicate the use of the same word, *ἐγένετο, γινόμενος* (in *κρείττων γινόμενος*, Heb. i. 4), against their misinterpretations of it (against Arians, i fin. pp. 268 sqq. O.T.), as S. Cyril used them here against Nestorian quibbles.

CHRIST serving to It ever Unchangeableness and without-turning, as Its own and Essentially innate to It?

- ^s *ἱερουργός*
Phil. ii.
5-8.
- A. The all-wise Paul, the steward of His mysteries, the Priest^s of the Gospel preachings, will make it clear saying, *Be ye thus minded each one in yourselves according to what was in Christ Jesus also, Who being in the Form of God held not the being Equal to God a thing to seize, yet emptied Himself taking bondman's form, MADE in likeness of men, and, found in fashion as a man, humbled Himself, MADE obedient unto death, the death of the Cross.* For His Only-Begotten Word albeit God and out of God by Nature, the
- Heb. i. 3. *Brightness of the glory and the Impress of the Person of Him Who begat Him, WAS MADE man and that not turned into flesh, or undergoing commingling^b or mixture or ought else of such like, but rather abasing Himself unto empti-*
- ib. xii. 2. *ness, and for the joy set before Him despising shame and not dishonouring the poverty of the human nature. For He willed as God to render the flesh which is holden of death and sin, superior to both death and sin, and to restore it to what it was in the beginning, having made it His own, not (as some say) soulless but ensouled with intellectual*
- above p. 8. *soul: yet, not disdaining to go along the path hereto befitting, He is said to undergo a birth like ours, abiding what He was. For He has been born in wondrous wise according to flesh of a woman: for no otherwise was it possible that He being God by Nature should be seen by them on earth than in likeness of us, the Impalpable and without body, yet Who thought good to be made man and in Himself Alone to shew our nature illustrious in the dignities of Godhead: for He the Same was God alike and*
- Phil. ii.
7.
ib. 8. *man, and in likeness of man, in that herewith He was also God, but in fashion as a man. For He was God in ap-*

^b *ἡ φύσιν ἢ κράσιν.* *φύσις* implies the commingling of a dry substance with a moist, as in *kneading*: *κράσις* the blending of two liquids together so as to form a compound. S. Cyril observes (ag. Nest. i. § 3 above pp. 16, 17) that some of the older Fathers had used the word *κράσις* (see Tertullian's use of it Apol. i. 21 and the passages of the

other Fathers put together in p. 48 note h O.T.). S. Cyril himself in his writings on the Incarnation denies it in the sense which Apollinaris' error was importing into the word: he uses the expression of *mixing* to express the intensity of the union of God the Son with us, below p. 250 note i.

pearance as we, and in bondman's form the Lord, for thus IS ONE do we say that He was MADE FLESH.

Therefore do we affirm that the holy Virgin is also mother of God.

B. Does it like you that arraying their words against yours we make a subtler scrutiny of the conceptions, or shall we yield it simply to your word that the matter has been well apprehended?

A. Irreprehensible as I deem is all that will be said by us, wisely and skilfully and not repugnant to the God-inspired Scriptures. But say, yourself too, what seems good to you: for a counter-plea⁹ will beget something profitable. ⁹ ἀντίσ-
τασις

B. The Divine Paul writes (they say) of the Son as having BEEN MADE both curse and sin^c: for he says, *Him that* 2 Cor. v. 21. *knew not sin He made for our sakes sin*, and again, *Christ* Gal. iii. 13. *redeemed us from the curse of the law*, MADE for our sakes a curse. They say that He was not MADE actual curse and sin, but the holy Scripture is indicating hereby something else: thus they say that *And the Word WAS MADE flesh* is S. John i. 14. conceived of by us.

^c Although (as said above p. 24 note q) Andrew's chief objection to S. Cyril's first chapter lay in misunderstanding S. Cyril's term, "She hath borne after the flesh," applied to the second Generation, viz. the temporal one, of God the SON, still he very briefly touches on, what was Theodoret's main objection, the risk of Apolinarianism. Andrew closes his objection with these words, "Besides, if we apply ourselves to the words without examination, we shall be imagining both a change of the Word and a passing into flesh, and thus we shall suppose that He has been made both *sin* and *curse*, except we give heed to what precedes and follows and to the usage of the Scripture. Moreover that the Word was made flesh, we shall duly take of the tabernacling in flesh, according to the sense of the Gospels."

S. Cyril replies, "Seeing that, on the Evangelist saying, *The Word was made flesh*, they say that they are afraid lest, the word *was made* retaining its proper meaning, some change be conceived of as taking place regarding the Divine Nature of the Word; I applaud their fear, but marvel that drawing aside the word and its true and necessary mean-

ing, they say that *the Word was so made flesh*, as He may be said to be made *curse* and *sin*. How ought they not, being men of sense, to have seen, that the blessed Evangelist having put, *Was made*, removes all suspicion of any change, by subjoining immediately, *And tabernacled in us*?

"In another way too it is absurd to venture to say, that the Word was so made flesh, as He is said to have been made *curse* and *sin* (for He has not been made *curse*'s very self, nor yet *sin*), but being Righteous He was reckoned among the transgressors, in order to bring sin to nought: and He Who blesseth the creation has been called a *curse*, in order to undo our curse and rid from sentence them that believe on Him. Hence He has not been made of a truth *curse* and *sin* but has been called so, to bring to nought *curse* and *sin*.

"Hence if He have thus been made flesh, He hath brought to nought the flesh, just as He hath *curse* and *sin*, and hath neither been made man nor been in truth incarnate: but in mere semblance is the mystery and in bare names is the plan of the Incarnation seen." p. 159 c d and 161 d e 162 a.

CHRIST A. And verily as in saying that He WAS MADE a *curse* and *sin*, so this that He WAS MADE *flesh* introduces with it and has

¹ προαντί-
σχουσιν, coming to
view in
front of it in its horizon¹ the conception of what follows thereupon.

B. How say you? for when one says of Him, He that knows not sin has BEEN MADE sin for us, and has bought from the curse of the law also them who were under the law, MADE for their sakes a curse, how should one doubt that this is in the times wherein the Only-Begotten was Incarnate and MADE man?

A. It introduces therefore with the mention of the Incarnation the things too that on account thereof are economically brought upon Him Who underwent the voluntary emptying, as are hunger and weariness. For as He would not have been wearied Whose is all might, neither would He have been said to hunger, Himself the Food and life of all, had He not made His own the body whose nature it is to hunger and be weary^d: so neither would He ever have been numbered among transgressors (for thus do we say that He WAS MADE sin^e), He would not have been MADE a curse, enduring the cross for our sakes, had He not been MADE flesh, i. e., been Incarnate and made man, enduring generation like ours in human wise, that I mean through the holy Virgin.

B. I assent, for you deem aright.

^d See S. Athanasius against the Arians iii. § 30—35 pp. 442—450 O.T.

^e Elsewhere S. Cyril says, "For Christ was made for us *sin*, as it is written. And surely not guilty of sin (for we are not wont so to wander in mind) seeing that He had no knowledge of transgression, being God by Nature and beaming forth of God the Father. But because He has been made a sacrifice for sin (for Christ our Passover was sacrificed for us), therefore do we say that He was made *sin* also." Glaph. 349 c. And in commenting upon Hosea iv. 8, They eat the sin of My people, S. Cyril says, "A kid therefore of the goats was wont to be sacrificed for sin, wherefore the sacrifice itself was also called *sin*." in xii Proph. 71 b. But the two explanations of being made sin may be but two aspects of what the Holy Ghost tells us in these words.

S. Athanasius says, "For as by re-

ceiving our infirmities, He is said to be infirm Himself, though not Himself infirm, for He is the Power of God: and He became *sin for us* and a curse, though not having sinned Himself but because He Himself bare our sins and our curse, so &c." Agst Arians, ii. 55 fin. p. 359 O.T. Similarly S. Cyril, "As therefore He is said to have been infirm though not infirm (for He is the Power of God), because He bare our infirmities, and the Divine Scripture says that He has been made a curse, not meaning that He has been actually transmade into a curse, but that He bare the curse for us, and again He is said to have been made *sin*, not as forgetful of His own Nature nor passing into sin Who knew it not, but because He took on Him our sins, as it is written, in His body on the Tree, so" &c. Thes. cap. 15 p. 162 e, see also cap. 32 p. 276 e.

A. It is without understanding in other respects too to think is ONE and to say that the Word was in such sort MADE flesh as He WAS MADE a *curse* and *sin*.

B. What way do you mean?

A. Was He not accursed that He might undo the curse and did not the Father make Him sin that He might end sin?

B. Thus do they too say.

A. Therefore if it is true, as it is understood by them to mean rightly, that the Word has in such sort been MADE see above, note c. *flesh*, as He has been MADE both *curse* and *sin*; i. e. to the destruction of the flesh; how will He render it incorruptible and indestructible, as having achieved this in His own Flesh first? for He did not leave it to remain mortal and under decay, Adam transmitting to us the punishment for the transgression, but rather as the flesh of the uncorruptible God, Own and His ², rendered it superior to death ² *ἰδίαν ἡγουν ἐαυτοῦ* and to decay.

B. You say well.

A. The sacred Scripture somewhere says, that *the first* 1 Cor. xv. 45. *man*, i. e. Adam, WAS MADE a *living soul*, Him that was after, i. e. Christ, a *quickeningspirit*. Do we then say that as for the destruction of curse and sin He was MADE *curse* and *sin*, so that for the overthrow of being a *living soul* was He MADE a *quickeningspirit*? for they twisting into what is incongruous the force of MADE, say that He was in such wise MADE flesh, as He was made both *curse* and *sin*. We must therefore take away the Incarnation, or being made man, of the Word. Which when it is received as a verity, gone is the whole plan of the Mystery; neither was Christ born, nor died, nor raised, according to the Scriptures. Where Ib. 4. therefore is the Faith, *the word of faith which we preach*? Rom. x. 8. for how did God raise Him from the dead except He also died? how died He except He was born after the flesh? where too is the living again of the dead, bringing in for the saints a hope of the undying life, except Christ have been raised? where too the quickening of our human bodies, which is wrought by the participation of His holy Flesh and Blood?

CHRIST B. We say then that the Word WAS MADE *flesh* in regard of the birth after the flesh from a woman, which in the last ages of the world He is said to undergo, albeit before every age as God.

Heb. ii.
14—17.

A. Full surely : for thus WAS He MADE in likeness to us in everything except sin. And the all-wise Paul will testify saying, *For since the little ones have partaken of blood and flesh He too likewise partook of the same that through death He might destroy him that hath the sway of death, that is the devil, and might free them who in fear of death were through their whole life subject to bondage : for verily He taketh not hold of angels but taketh hold of Abraham's seed, whence He ought in all things to be likened to His brothers.* The likeness in all things has as a sort of beginning and introduction thereof the birth of a woman, and the manifestation in flesh of Him Who in His own Nature is not visible, and the economic habitation ^f in our estate of Him of mightiest Name, and the lowliness in human nature of Him Who is high on the Thrones above, and that He Who is in Lordship of Nature WAS MADE in servants' degree : for *the Word was God.*

see above
pp. 26
sqq.

B. You deem aright : yet know that those men say this too, that it is impossible and uncomely to deem and to say that the Word Born of God the Father Ineffably and above our understanding should undergo yet a second generation from out of woman : for it were enough for Him (they say) to be once begotten of the Father in God-befitting wise.

3 βαττα-
ρισμοῖς

A. They find fault therefore with the Son and say that He counselled not aright in undergoing the voluntary emptiness for our sake : brought to nought too and empty is now the august and mighty Mystery of godliness, and the fair scheme of the Economy with flesh of the Only-Begotten they represent as useless to them on the earth. But not to their stutterings ³ does the Word of truth give the mastery, but rather it will convict them as babbling things most senseless and knowing not a whit the mystery of

^f *κάθ' εσιν*, taken as coming from *καθέζομαι* not from *καθίημι*. See meaning given from Hesychius in Liddell and Scott.

Christ. For God the Father hath begotten of His own Self IS ONE the Son by a single generation, yet did it please Him in Him to save the human race by the means of Incarnation or being made man, which must full surely take place through birth of a woman, in order that by the likeness to us of the Word that is born from God, the law of sin in the members cf. Rom. vii. 23. of our flesh might be condemned, death be brought to nought in the likeness of the death of Him Who knows not death: for if we *have been co-planted* (it says) *in the like-* Rom. vi. 5. *ness of His death so shall we be also in the likeness of His Resurrection.* Hence needs has He Who is and Who existeth ⁴ ὁ δὲ ὦν καὶ ὁ ὑπάρχων been born after the flesh, transferring ours into Him- cf. above p. 93. self in order that the offspring of flesh, that is we, corruptible and perishing, might abide in Him Who at length has ours for His own in order that WE too may have His. For *for our sakes became He poor who is Rich in order that* 2 Cor. viii. 9. *we by His Poverty might be rich.*

But they by affirming that not Himself, the Word from out of God, WAS MADE flesh, or underwent generation after the flesh from out of woman, take away the Economy. For unless He being Rich became poor, lowering Himself out of His Clemency to our estate, neither have WE gained the riches that are His, but are yet in poverty and holden of curse and death and sin: for the Word BEING MADE flesh is the undoing and overthrow of the things which from curse and penalty befell the nature of man. Therefore if they undermine the root of our salvation and dig up the foundation of our hope, where will be that which follows? For (as I said) if the Word have not been MADE *flesh*, neither is the sway of death o'erthrown, sin is in no wise brought to nought, and we are yet subject to the transgressions of the first man, i. e. Adam, having no return unto what is better, through (I mean) Christ the Saviour of us all.

B. I understand what you say.

A. And besides who is he to be understood to be who *in like manner with us hath partaken of blood and flesh*, as though other than we by nature? for one will not say that that it pertains to a man to partake of human nature: for see above pp. 16 &c.

CHRIST what one is by nature how can one be conceived of as taking^s as though it were something else than what he is? does not my argument seem very reasonable?

B. Quite so.

A. Consider in another way too that it is both unhallowed and discordant to attempt to take away from God the Word
 see above pp. 142 sqq. and note s there
 1 S. John i. 7. His Birth of woman according to the flesh: for how will His Body quicken except it be His Who is Life? how does
 Gal. iv. 4. *the Blood of Jesus cleanse us from all sin*, if it is that of a common man and one who is under sin? how did God the
 Rom. viii. 3. Father send *His Son, made of a woman, made under the law?* how *condemned He sin in the flesh?* for it pertains not to a common man and who has with us his nature despotized by sin to condemn sin. But since it has BEEN MADE the body of Him Who knows not transgression, therefore with reason did it shake off the despotism of sin and is rich in
 5 ιδιότητα the Property^s of the Word which is Ineffably and in mode unutterable united with it, and is holy and life-giving and replete with God-befitting operation. And as in Christ our first-fruits, we too are trans-elemented into being superior to both decay and sin. And it is true that according
 1 Cor. xv. 49. to the voice of blessed Paul, *As we bare the image of the earthy we shall bear the image too of the heavenly*, i. e. of Christ. Christ is called an *heavenly* man, not as though He brought down to us His flesh from above and from Heaven^h, but because the Word being God hath come down from Heaven, and entering our likeness, that is, undergoing birth after the flesh from out a woman, hath remained what He was, i. e. above and out of Heaven and *above all* as God even with flesh. For thus somewhere says the Divine John of Him, *He that cometh from above is above all*. For He hath remained Lord of all even when economically MADE in bondman's form, and truly marvellous

^s "For that which is honoured by a relation (σχέσει) which does not belong to it by nature, admits full surely into itself a glory which is foreign to it. And since a thing will never partake of itself but will undergo this from relation with another, there is all need to say that that which partakes is of other nature than that which is partaken of." Dial. 7. p.

643 d: see too above p. 16, below p. 254 note m.

^h See above p. 101 and in Scholia, § 36 above pp. 226, 227 and note n.; see also more at length in S. Cyril's Ecu-
 menical Epistle to John Archbishop of Antioch, translated in 3 *Epistles of S. Cyril* (Parker 1872) pp. 72, 73.

therefore is the mystery of Christ. And verily God the is ONE Father said somewhere to the Jews by one of the Prophets, *See ye despisers and perish and marvel because I am working a work in your days, a work which ye shall not believe if one should detail it to you.* For the mystery of Christ is in peril of being disbelieved by reason of the intensity of its marvellousness: God was in human nature, and in our estate He that is over all creation; the Invisible, visible by reason of flesh; He that is out of Heaven and from above in likeness of things earthy; the Impalpable subject to touch; He that is in His own Nature Free in bondman's form; He Who blesseth the creation WAS MADE subject to curse, among the transgressors All-Righteousness, and in guise⁶ of death Life. For the Body which tasted death, see p. 243, note c. was not another man's but His who is by Nature Son. Have you ought to find fault with in these things as not right or rightly said by us?

B. By no means.

A. Consider I pray this too in addition.

B. What do you mean?

A. Christ somewhere said to them who would take away the resurrection of the dead, *Read ye not that He which made man at the beginning made them male and female,* the S. Matt. xix. 4. Divine Paul too writes, *Marriage is honourable in all and the bed pure.* Then how did the Only-begotten Word of Heb. xiii. 4. God, minding to enter the likeness to us-ward, not permit the laws of human nature to prevail, for the subsistence or birth of His own flesh: for not from marriage-bed and wedlock did He endure to take it but from a Virgin august and unwedded, with child of the Spirit, *the Power of God* S. Luke i. 35. *over-shadowing her,* as it is written. Since God therefore dishonoured not marriage yea rather honoured it with blessing, why did the Word being God make a Virgin with child of the Spirit the mother of His flesh?

B. I cannot tell.

A. Yet how is not the reason hereof clear to all who consider this? the Son came (as I said) or was made man, translemting our estate as in Himself first unto a holy above p. 242.

CHRIST and admirable and truly marvellous birth and life : and Himself first became born of the Holy Ghost, I mean as to the flesh, in order that, the grace passing through as by a path unto ourselves too, we having not *from blood nor from the will of the flesh nor from the will of man but from God* through the Spirit our souls' ⁷ new birth and spiritual conformation unto the SON Who is by Nature and truly, might call God Father and might thus abide undecaying, as possessing no longer the first father, Adam, in whom we decayed. And verily Christ said, at one time, *And call no one your father on the earth, for one is your Father which is in Heaven*, at another, for that He therefore descended in our estate in order that He might bring us to His own God-befitting dignity, *I am going to My Father and your Father and My God and your God*. For His Father by Nature ¹ is He Who is in Heaven, *our God* ; but since He that is SON by Nature and truly has BEEN MADE as we, He says that He has had Him as His God, after the manner that is which beseems the emptying, and has given His own Father to us too ; for it is written, *But as many as received Him He gave them authority to BE MADE children of God, them which believe on His Name*. But if we in our unlearning take away from being MADE in birth as we the Word from out God the Father, Him who *in all things hath the pre-eminence*, as the most wise Paul saith ; after whom shall WE any more formed, be called begotten of God through the Spirit ? whom shall we take as a first-fruit for us in this, or who at all will bring the Dignity unto us ?

B. They too will say, I suppose, The Incarnate Word.

A. How will this be true, except He have BEEN MADE flesh,

¹ " He gives to the nature of man what is His, permitting it to call God Father : Himself taketh the properties of the human nature calling the Father His God. Yet neither do we deny our bondage that is by nature when we call God Father nor will the SON lose His Natural Dignity by likening Himself to us for our good." Thes. cap. 15 p 160 e. "Commixing therefore in a way and commingling us in Himself and Himself again in us, Himself descends into what is ours, catches us up into what is His.

Thus, *we* are men by nature, He hastening down for His love's sake into what is beside Nature was made man : God's bondmen by nature *we* as things made, He too is called bondman, borne unto what is beside Nature when He was made man. Yea and on the other hand, He God by Essence, *we* too gods mounting up unto what is beside nature for grace's sake (for we are men) : He SON by Nature, we too sons by adoption called unto brotherhood with Him." Thes cap. 32 p. 330 fin.

i. e. man, making the human body His own by a union IS ONE which may not be plucked asunder, in order that it may be conceived of as His and not anyone's else? for thus will He send unto us too the grace of the sonship and we too shall be born of the Spirit, in that in Him first the nature of man attained this. And the Divine Paul appears to me, thinking over with himself something of this sort, to have said full rightly, *For as we bare the image of the* 1 Cor. xv. 49. *earthly we shall bear the image too of the heavenly:* and he said that *the first man was from out of earth, earthly, the* Ib. 47. *second from out of Heaven.* But *as the earthly such* (he says) Ib. 48. *are the earthly ones too, and as the Heavenly One such the Heavenly ones also.* For we are *earthly*, in that there stole in upon us as from *the earthly one*, Adam, the curse, decay, through which the law of sin too entered in, which is in the members of our flesh: but we have been *MADE heavenly*, receiving this in Christ. For He being God by Nature and out of God and from above, hath come down in our estate, in an unwonted and strange way, *MADE* offspring of the Spirit according to the flesh, in order that we too as He might remain holy and undecaying, the grace descending upon us as from out a second beginning and root, i. e., Him.

B. You speak excellently.

A. How do they say that He has been *made like* also in all things to *His brethren*, i. e., us? or who at all will He be conceived to be who entered into this likeness, unless He were other by Nature and not in our estate? for that which is *made like* to any, must full surely be different from them and not like to them but rather of other form, other nature. The Only-Begotten therefore being by Nature unlike us is said to have been *made like* when *MADE* as we, i. e. man: and this will take place rightly and solely, in birth in our estate, even though in wondrous wise in Him, for He Who was *Incarnate* was GOD. Yet let it be acknowledged that the body united to Him has been rationally ensouled: for the Word being God, would not, letting alone that which is superior in us, i. e., the soul, have taken thought for

CHRIST the earthy body only, but in wisdom provided for soul and body alike^k.

B. I agree, for you deem rightly.

A. Hence if the opponents say that the holy Virgin ought to be called in no wise *mother of God*, but *mother of Christ*, they blaspheme openly and drive away Christ from being God and Son: for if they believe that He is really God, in that the Only-Begotten has been MADE as we, why do they shudder at calling her *mother of God*, who bare Him, I mean after the flesh?

B. Yea (they say): for the name Christ because of his having been anointed with the Holy Ghost besseems only him who is of a woman and of the seed of David: the Word out of God will never need so far as belongs to His own Nature such grace, seeing He is holy by Nature. For does not the Name Christ indicate that some anointing took place?

A. You said right, that because of the anointing alone is He called Christ, just as Apostle by reason of Apostolat⁸, and Angel from bearing tidings⁹, (for such kind of names signify certain things, not special persons or known individuals; for the Prophets too have been called christs, as is sung in the psalms, *Touch not My christs and deal not wickedly with My prophets*; the Prophet Habbacuc too said, *Thou wentest forth for the salvation of Thy people, to save Thy christs*): yet tell me this, Do not themselves too say that the Only-Begotten Word of God is One Christ and Son, as being Lord Incarnate and made man?

B. Perchance they say so, yet they want the name Christ

⁸ ἀποστο-
λήν, mis-
sion
⁹ ἄγγελος
from ἀγ-
γέλλειν
Ps. cv.
15.
Hab. iii.
13.

^k "We say therefore that the whole Word which is out of God has been co-united to the whole manhood of ours: for He would not have deemed of no account, that which is best in us, i. e. the soul, bestowing on the flesh alone the Toils of His Coming." de recta fide to the Emperor Theodosius p. 18 d and (as a Dialogue) with slight modifications in the Ad Herm. Book 7, 692 b. Similarly Theodoret in his great letter to the monks of Constantinople, after saying, "the Only-Begotten Son of God taking

both body and soul. . . ." adds, "For if the body only of Adam sinned, it would have needed that this alone should reap the cure: but since the soul not only sinned with it but also before it (for thought first limns the sin, then works it through the body), it were right, I suppose, that it too obtain healing" (Ep. 145 p. 1250 init.). See also S. Irenaeus, "Thus the Lord having redeemed us with His own Blood and given His Soul for our souls and His own Flesh for our flesh" (Book v. 1. 1. p. 450 O.T.).

not to belong to the Word born from out of God the Father, IS ONE
by reason that He has not been anointed according to His
own Nature as God, but they add this as well: For it is
not (they say) one of the names by which we should speak
of the Father Himself or of the Holy Ghost.

A. The statement is not yet quite clear; explain it therefore, for you will do well.

B. Listen then: for one can see the appellation of the SON most manifold and diversely brought out by the God-inspired Scriptures, for He has been named God and Lord and Light and Life and besides King and Lord of hosts and Holy and Almighty. But if one pleased to say these things of the Father too or the Holy Ghost, one would not miss what is befitting. For of One Nature, one full surely is the Excellence of the dignities. If therefore Christ is a name truly befitting the Only-Begotten, let it pass (they say) without distinction with the rest both to the Father Himself and the Holy Ghost: but seeing it is utterly unmeet to accommodate it to the Father and the Holy Ghost, neither will it rightly pertain to the Only-Begotten Himself but rather has been apportioned in truth to him of the seed of David in regard to whom anointing by the Spirit may without any blame be conceived and said.

see Schol.
§ 13, above
p. 200.

A. We too ourselves say that the names of the God-befitting dignities are common to Father Son and Holy Ghost, and with equal glories are we wont to crown together with Him Who begat Him the Son Who is begotten out of Him and the Holy Ghost besides.

Yet, o most excellent (would I say), the name Christ and the fact itself, that is, the Anointing, along with the conditions of the emptiness have accrued to the Only-Begotten, introducing to the hearers a manifest proof of the Incarnation: for that He has been anointed in that He has been made man, it will very well betoken. If therefore we were investigating not the plan itself of the Economy with flesh but it were proposed to us to look on the Only-Begotten Word of God as yet external to the measures of the emp-

CHRIST¹ tiness, it were with good reason wholly dishonouring¹ to call Him Christ Who has not been anointed: but since the Divine and most holy Scripture says that He WAS MADE *flesh*, the anointing too will now besit Him, which took place in regard to the Incarnation which is His. And truly the all-wise Paul says, *For both the Sanctifier and the sanctified are all out of one, for which reason He is not ashamed to call them brothers saying, I will declare Thy Name to My brothers: for He was sanctified together with us when He WAS MADE in our estate.*

Heb. ii.
11, 12.

Ps. xlv.
6, 7.

² αὐτοτε-
λής
S. John
i. 14.

Ib. 16.

And that truly SON was He Who is anointed in that He WAS MADE flesh, i. e. perfect man, the Divine David will testify saying to Him, *Thy Throne o God is for ever and ever, a sceptre of rightness the sceptre of Thy Kingdom: Thou lovedst righteousness and hatedst transgression wherefore God Thy God anointed Thee with the oil of rejoicing above Thy fellows*¹. Understand therefore how having both said that He is God and given Him a Throne for ever, he says that He has been anointed by God, clearly the Father, with some choice anointing above those who partake of Him^m, i. e. ourselves. For if the Word have BEEN MADE man too, albeit God, yet was He thus too without lack of the Goods of His proper Nature; being Self-Perfect² and *full of grace and truth*, according to the voice of John: and Himself Perfect in every kind of thing God-befitting, while *from His fulness all we received*, as it is written. Making His own therefore along with the measures of His own human nature what also belong thereto, He is called Christ, even though He be conceived of as not anointed, according (I mean) to the Nature of the Godhead or as

¹ παρὰ τοὺς μετόχους σου. μέτοχος is a sharer, partaker in, with a genitive of the thing shared. S. Cyril appears to have taken μετόχους σου as 'sharers of Thee,' rather than (like θεῶν μέτοχοι, quoted in Liddell and Scott sub v., *partners with the gods*) "partners with Thee."

^m παρὰ τοὺς μετέχοντας αὐτοῦ. S. Cyril had in earlier life said, "Blessed David sings and says to the SON, *Therefore God Thy God anointed Thee with the oil of gladness above them that are*

participant of Thee (παρὰ τοὺς μετόχους σου). If therefore that which partakes is other than that which is partaken (for one must be conceived of in other), and the creature partakes of the SON, He will be other than the creature which partakes of Him: hence neither is He generate. But if the SON be not other than the creature, be not severed from it by Nature, what need of participation? or how can any partake of what itself is?" *Thes. cap. i fin. p. 14.*

He is conceived of as God. Since (tell me) how else will IS ONE He be conceived of as Christ Son and Lord, if the Only-Begotten have disdained the anointing and abide not the measures of the emptiness?

B. They hasten along another path than ours, unskilfully interpreting the mystery of piety. For they say that God the Word hath taken a perfect man from out the seed of Abraham and David according to the declaration of the Scriptures, who is by nature what they were of whose seed he was, a man perfect in nature, consisting of intellectual soul and human flesh: whom, man as we by nature, fashioned by the might of the Holy Ghost in the womb of the Virgin and *made of a woman, made under the law, in* Gal. iv. 4, 5. *order that he might buy us all from the bondage of the law, receiving the sonship* marked out long before, He in new way connected³ to Himself, preparing him to make 3 συνῆ- ψεν trial of death according to the law of men, raising him from the dead, taking him up into Heaven and setting him on the Right Hand of God. From whence he being now *far above all rule and authority and might and lordship and* Eph. i. 21. *every name named not in this world only but in that to come also,* receives worship from all creation as having a connection inseverable with ⁴he Divine Nature, the whole creation allotting to him its worship in reference to and in idea of Godⁿ. And we say neither two sons nor two lords: but since God the Word the Only-Begotten Son of the Father, to Whom this man is connected and partakes, is Son by Essence, he shares the name and honour of Son: and God the Word is Lord by Essence, to Whom connected, this man shares the honour. And therefore we say neither two sons nor two lords: seeing that He Who is by Essence is clearly Lord and Son, he who for our salvation is assumed, having an unseverable connection with Him, is borne up up along with Him to name and honour of son and of lord.

A. Fie! the folly and distraught mind of them who imagine somehow that these things are so: for it is unbelief

ⁿ ἀναφορᾷ Θεοῦ καὶ ἐννοίᾳ.

CHRIST and nought else, and the novelty of impious inventions and the subversion of the divine and sacred preachings which have proclaimed One Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Word that is out of God the Father made man and incarnate, so that the Same is God alike and man; and to One belongs all, the God-befitting and moreover the human. For He being and existing ever in that He is God underwent the birth after the flesh from out a woman. To One therefore and the Same pertaining both that He Eternally is and existeth and that He in the last times is born after the flesh, Who, by Nature Holy as God, was hallowed with us in that He became man to whom it befitteth to be hallowed; Who, both in rank of Lord and, having as His own *bondman's form*, did call the Father His God; Life and Life-giving as God, is said to be quickened by the Father in that He became Man. All things therefore are His, and He does not dishonour the economy which the Father Himself too praised, if it be true which is said by Paul's voice: *for in one place he said, Him who knew not sin He made sin for our sakes in order that we might be made God's righteousness in Him, in another, Who verily spared not His own Son but delivered Him up for all us in order that with Him also He might bestow on us all things.* Does not therefore our discourse go after the scope of the sacred Scriptures?

B. Surely.

A. If now as our opponents say and choose to hold, the Only-Begotten Word of God, taking a man of the seed of Divine David and of Abraham prepared him to be fashioned in the holy Virgin and connected this man with Himself and hath made him to come into experience of death, yea and raising him from the dead took him up into heaven and seated him on the Right Hand of God: superfluously (it seems) is He said both by the holy fathers and by ourselves and the whole God-inspired Scripture to be made man (for this I deem and nought else did the all-wise John signify when he wrote, *The Word was made flesh*), and the mystery of the Economy with flesh has been (it is like) turned right round to the exact opposite. For one cannot

above p.
233 note
s.

2 Cor. v.
21.

Rom. viii.
32.

see that the Word being by Nature God and beaming forth from God, abased Himself to emptiness, taking bondman's form, and hath humbled Himself, but on the contrary, man was brought up into the glory of the Godhead and the excellency that is over all, and took God's Form and was rather exalted, co-throned with the Father: is it not true which I say?

IS ONE
see Schol.
§ 12,
above pp.
197 sqq.

B. Full surely.

A. If it be true as they say, and the Only-Begotten disdained the Economy, what *shame* did He despise? how hath He become *obedient* to the Father *unto death yea the death of the cross*? and if taking a man, He led him both to experience of death, and bringing him into Heaven too, shewed him co-throned with the Father; where now at last will His own Throne^o be seen, if they say not two sons, but one who co-sitteth, him that is who is of the seed of David and Abraham? how will He too be said to be Saviour of the world and not rather patron or bringer-forward¹ of a man through whom we have been also saved, and a man, other than He, has become the completion of law and Prophets? for the Law uttereth the mystery of Christ and of Him *hath Moses written*, who hath also become *the bringer of us* to Him. Our faith hath come I ween to nought, for it stream'd away; wholly nought is our august mystery, which the all-excellent Paul too openeth to us saying, *Say not in thine heart, who shall ascend into heaven? that is to bring down Christ; or, Who shall go down into the deep? that is to bring up Christ from the dead. But what saith the Scripture^v? Nigh thee is the word, in thy mouth and in thy heart, that is the word of faith which we are preaching: that if thou say in thy mouth, Lord*

Heb. xii.
2.
Phil. ii.
8.

⁴ παρακο-
μιστής

S. John
v. 46.
Gal. iii.
21.

Rom. x.
6—9.

^o Theodoret in his Letter to the Monks of Constantinople (the same that is quoted above p. 252 note k and p. 33 note b) written in the later years of his life after the Eutychian troubles had commenced and so after A. D. 448 uses words very similar: *If, as they accuse me, I proclaim two sons, which do I praise, which leave unworshipped?* (Ep. 145, p. 1247): see also p. 1310 fin.

^p The two MSS D and F of S. Paul's Epistles with some few others add this

gloss, *the Scripture*, of which Origen too and Theodoret are quoted as preserving a trace. There seems little doubt that S. Cyril had it in this treatise as the Syriac translation of the treatise also gives it. Dr. Tischendorf cites S. Cyril as reading the word in his commentary on Isaiah p. 839 init.: S. Cyril quotes this passage twice in his treatise de Recta fide to Arcadia and Marina, pp. 104 c, 118 e, as far as we know, without the gloss.

CHRIST *Jesus, and believe in thy heart that God raised Him from the dead, thou shalt be saved.*

How then is the mystery of piety any longer great and famous and in supremest admiration, if we are to believe that (as the perverted ones say) a man taken and connected by way of accident⁵ to God the Word, died and lived again: and he was borne up into Heaven, yet is it I suppose to some past belief, if not being by Nature and truly God, he delights him in the seat of Godhead, the Son by Nature haply thrust forth therefrom: and there stand in ministering position Angels and Archangels and the Seraphim who are higher yet, before—not Him Who is in truth Son and God but before—a man who is rich in name of sonship by participation and importation⁶ and in fashion as we and who has been vouchsafed the so God-befitting honour? for in no wise do our opponents blush at saying this too. Is not their dogma replete with the uttermost impiety and blasphemy? for that which is given and brought in⁷ may be lost, and that which is imported from without, has the loss of it not inconceivable. I pass over the further blasphemy and incongruity.

Why then do they drag down the choiceness of the Economy unto what is uncomely, and make our Divine and most holy worship, a man-worship and nothing else, taking it from Him Who is in truth Son and persuading us to worship one connected with Him by way of accident⁸, whom they say also sped *above all rule and authority and lordship*, imposing the blame of having been deceived, not only on them on earth but also on the very rational powers above, if with us they worship, not the by Nature and truly Son and the Word which beamed forth of the Essence of God the Father, Incarnate, but as other than He, a man from forth the seed of David, a god modelled⁹ by mere will perchance of His and by external embellishments⁹, not so in truth?

B. Yet although he is conceived of as man severally (say

⁹ ἐξωραϊσμοῖς. The verb is used in S. Cyril's commentary on S. John v. 23, p. 231 d: p. 267 O.T.

they), he hath worship from the whole creation, in reference to and in conception of God^r. IS ONE

A. Then how (tell me) will this *reference* they talk of^s be meetly conceived and spoken of by us? And come, investigating the Divine and sacred Scripture, let us seek the solution from it. They of Israel^t therefore, recking little at one time of reverence to God, bitterly attacked Moses and Aaron: then Moses addressed them, *And who is Aaron, that ye murmur against him? for not against us but against God is this your murmuring.* For they were sinning against Moses and Aaron, but what they did touched the Divine glory, and the covert intent¹ of them who insult has reference² to that glory. Yet Moses and Aaron were not gods, nor has the creation worshipped them in reference to God³.

Num. xvi. 11.
Exod. xvi. 8.

¹ τῆς ὑπονοίας ὁ τρόπος
² τὴν ἀναφορὰν
³ ἀναφορᾶ Θεοῦ

God reigned over Israel after the flesh through Prophets. And they came and said to the Divine Samuel, *Make us a king like the rest of the nations.* At this the Spirit-clad was grieved and with good reason, yet he heard God say, *Not thee have they set at nought but Me that I should not reign over them.* See again here too the mode of the setting at nought has reference⁴ to God. 1 Sam. viii. 5.

⁴ τὴν ἀναφορὰν

And indeed the Saviour and Lord of all Himself too says respecting those in need, *Inasmuch as ye did it to one of these least, to Me ye did it.* Is it then in this way that if any be said to honour him that is of the seed of David, he hath done it to the Son? and if any do not believe, hath he surely offended against the by Nature Son, Who haply wishes him too to be honoured and believed in by us in equal and exact manner? How then hath not the bond been brought into equal honour with the Lord, that which hath been made and a *new god* (according to the Scriptures) is in the excellencies of Godhead, and to the Holy and Consubstantial Trinity there hath been appended S. Matth. xxv. 40.

Ps. lxxxi. 9.

^r ἀναφορᾶ Θεοῦ καὶ ἐννοία.

^s τῆς παρ' αὐτῶν θρυλουμένης ἀναφορᾶς τὸ χρῆμα.

^t Each of these three instances is put forward also in the Scholia § 37, above

pp. 234, 235: compare also the famous Pasch. hom. 16 for A.D. 429 (the same as is cited by the Eastern Bishops against S. Cyril's Chapters as tome 1) pp. 231, 232.

CHRIST that which is of unequal nature with It and with It is worshipped and partaketh of equal glory with It?

⁶ τὴν ἀνα-
φορὰν

B. They say that the reference⁵ must be taken in some such manner as this: viewing God the Word inseverably connected to him of the seed of David we worship him as God.

A. Suffices it then in order to his duly taking the glory that befits God and to his being borne above the measures of creation, that he should be only connected with Him, and will this render him that is not God an object of worship? Yet I find one saying to God through the Psalmist's lyre,

Ps. lxiii.
8.

My soul is fast joined^u after Thee: blessed Paul too writes, He that is fast joined⁶ to the Lord is one spirit. Shall we

1 Cor. vi.
17.

⁶ ὁ κολλώ-
μενος

⁷ ἀναφορᾶ

⁸ κεκολλή-
ημένους

⁹ τὸ τῆς

κολλή-

σεως

ὄνομα

¹ συνῆφθαι

² τὴν

ἐνωσιν

then (tell me) worship those too in reference⁷ to God as having been fast joined⁸ to Him? Yet the word fast-joining⁹ has I suppose a greater and more forcible significance than the word *connected*¹, if it be true to say that what is fast-joined to any has its connection most strait^x.

B. It seems so.

A. Why now dropping *union*², though a word in wonted use amongst us, yea rather that has come down to us from the holy Fathers, do they call it connection³? though the term union by no means confounds them whereof it is said, but rather shews the concurrence into one of the things conceived of as united: and not (full surely) will that which is simple and of one kind be alone said to be One^y, but those too which are compounded out of two or more and out of diverse kinds. For so they think to be right who are skilled in these matters.

Most mischievously therefore do they, severing into two the One and by Nature and Truly Son Incarnate and made Man, reject the Union and call it connection, which any one else too may have with God, being almost tied⁴ to Him by virtue and holiness, according to that which is by one of the Prophets rightly said to them who fall back into carelessness, *Be ye gathered together and tied together, o undisci-*

⁴ συνδού-
μενος

Zeph. ii.
1, 2.
LXX.

^u see above, p. 79 note d.

^x τὸ τισι κολλώμενον ἐν ἐπιτάσει

πολλῇ τὴν συνάφειαν ἔχει.

^y see above, p. 41 note c.

plined nation, ere ye become as a flower that passeth away : IS ONE
 a disciple too may be connected with his teacher by means
 of love of learning, and ourselves, one with another, not
 in one way but in many. Or perchance he too who is an
 assistant ⁵ in any work will be reasonably conceived as not ⁵ὑπουργός
 unconnected ⁶ in point of good-will ⁷ with him who took ⁶ἄσυνα-
 him to that service. And this rather is what the word ⁷ἐκούσιον
connection appears to signify to us on the part of the innova-
 tors ⁸. For you learnt that they unlearnedly maintain that ⁸παρὰ τῶν
 God the WORD taking a man, as some son other than Him- ^{καινοτό-}
 self, set him forth, as a sort of minister ⁹ of His Will, so as ⁹ὑπουρ-
 to make trial of death, and live again, and ascending into ^{γόν}
 the very heaven, sit on the Throne of the Ineffable God- ^{above p.}
 head ! For is he not through these words full surely seen ^{255.}
 to be altogether other than the by Nature and truly Son?

B. I admit it.

A. But since they have slipped down to this depth of
 unlearning, as to think and say that not the Only-Begotten
 Word of God Himself was made as we, but that He took
 a man ; in what way do they want the assumption to be
 conceived by us ? is it as fore-ordained by Him for the
 accomplishment of somewhat that He willed, just as one
 of the holy Prophets says, *I was not a prophet nor son of a* ^{Amos vii.}
prophet but I was a goatherd and dressing mulberries, and ^{14, 15.}
the Lord took me from the sheep and said to me, Go, prophesy
to My people Israel ? A goatherd, He set him to be a pro-
 phet and appointed him minister of His Pleasure.

B. They will say perhaps that not of this kind was the
 taking, but just as *taking bondman's form* is conceived of
 by us.

A. Hence that which is taken will with reason be con-
 ceived of as the own of the Taker by an inseverable Union ;
 so that Jesus is both God and Son, One and Only, of Very
 God, as being Word from forth of God the Father, begotten
 Divinely before every age and time, and in the last times
 of the world, the same after the flesh forth of a woman :
 for not any one's else, but His has the bondman's form
 been made.

CHRIST B. How do you mean ?

A. Will (tell me) that which is by nature bond be said not incongruously to take bondman's form, or that which is truly free and is Essentially above the measures of bondage ?

B. The free I suppose : for how will it be made what it was by nature ?

A. Consider then that the Only-Begotten Word of God albeit made as we and having entered on the measures of bondage according to the human nature, hath witnessed to Himself freedom by Nature, saying in His joint-contribution^z of the didrachma, *Surely free are the sons*. He receives therefore bondman's form, making His own the results of the emptying^a and not spurning the likeness to usward : for it were not possible otherwise to honour the bond unless that which befitteth the bond had been made His that it might be made illustrious by the glory that is from Him : for that which excelleth ever hath the pre-eminence and the shame from our bondage was wiped out by us. For He Who is above us has been made as we and the Free by Nature was in the measure of the servants. Hence the dignity hath passed unto us too : for we too have been called sons of God and inscribed as our Father Him Who is properly *His* Father ; for our human things have been made His also.

Therefore in saying that He took bondman's form, is the whole mystery of the Economy with flesh. But if confessing One Son and Lord, the Word from forth of God the Father, they say that a man, him who is forth of the seed of David has been simply connected with Him, a partaker of His Sonship and of His glory, time is it that we in friendly grief over them who choose thus to think should say,

Jer. ix. 1. *Who will give to my head water and to my eyes a fountain*

^z συνεισφορὰ, as the contribution in which He ordered that S. Peter's share should be paid along with His own. This is a very favourite passage of S. Cyril, he has commented on it in his commentary on S. John iv. 22, p. 189 c (p. 217 O.T.) xiv. 11 p. 791 a b ; in his treatise on the right faith to the Prin-

cesses Arcadia and Marina p. 82 c d : on Isaiah p. 661 e, in his twelfth paschal homily p. 181 e, in Hom. 88 on S. Luke and at the close of a fragment of a Homily That Christ is One (published at the end of commentaries on S. John iii. p. 458) : see too Glaph. 328 a b.

^a but emptied Himself, Phil. ii. 7.

of tears, and I will weep this people day and night? for they ^{is ONE} are turned aside to a reprobate mind, *denying the Lord Who* ^{2 S. Pet. ii. 1.} *bought them.* For a pair of sons unequal in nature is proclaimed to us, and the bond is crowned with God-befitting glory, and some supposititious son is glorified with equal excellencies with the by Nature and truly Son, albeit God says plainly, *My glory I will not give to another:* for how is ^{Is. xlii. 8.} he not other and apart from the by Nature and truly Son, who has been honoured with mere and sole connection and taken as an assistant and vouchsafed sonship even as we ourselves are, and has partaken of glory from another and attained thereto by gift and grace?

B. We must not therefore sever Emmanuel into man severally and into God the Word.

A. By no means: I affirm that we must say that He is God Incarnate, and that He is in the Same both One and Other. For neither hath He, made man, ceased from being God, nor doth He hold the Economy unacceptable, despising the measure of the emptying.

B. Therefore (they say) consubstantial with the Word was His body, for thus and no otherwise will He be deemed One Only Son.

A. Yet how is not this now raving and clear proof of a mind wandering¹? for how can one behold in sameness of <sup>1 παραπαί-
οντος</sup> essence things so far removed one from another in respect of their nature? for one thing is Godhead, and another manhood. For of what do we say that the Union was made? for a person will not say that the things united are one in number, but either (it may be) two or more.

B. We must therefore sever (they say) the things named.

A. We must not sever (as I said) into a several diversity, in regard I mean to their being away from each other and apart², but must rather bring them together into an in- <sup>2 ἀπ' ἀλ-
λήλων
εἶναι καὶ
ἀνὰ μέρος</sup> dissoluble union. For *the Word* has been *made* flesh, as John saith.

B. Have they therefore been confused and both become one nature?

A. But who will be thus distraught and unlearned as to

CHRIST suppose that either the Divine Nature of the Word has been turned into what it was not, or that the flesh went over by way of change into the Nature of the Word Himself (for it is impossible)? but we say that One is the SON and One His Nature even though He be conceived of as having assumed flesh with a rational soul. For His (as I said) hath the human nature been made, and He is conceived of by us none otherwise than thus, God alike and man.

B. There will then be not two natures, of God and of man?

A. Godhead and manhood are one thing and another, according to the mode [of being] existing in each, yet in Christ have they come together, in unwonted wise and passing understanding, unto union, without confusion and turning^b. But wholly incomprehensible is the mode of the Union.

B. And how out of two things, Godhead and manhood, will One Christ be conceived of?

A. In no other wise (I suppose) than that whereby the things brought together one to another unto a union indissoluble and above comprehension will be One.

B. As for example?

A. Do we not say that a man like us is One and his nature one, although he has not simpleness [of nature] but is compounded out of two, I mean soul and body?

B. We do.

A. Does anybody, taking anew the flesh apart by itself, and sundering from it the soul that was united to it, divide a single person into two and not thereby destroy the right description of him?

2 Cor. iv. 16. B. Yet the all-wise Paul writes, *For even though our outward man perish yet is the inward renewed each day.*

A. You said right: for he knew, he knew well from whence he is one, and makes the distinction [between the two] one to be grasped in idea only: he calls the soul, *the inward man*, and the flesh, *the outward*. For I call to mind

^b τροπήs: comp. S. James i. 17.

the holy Scriptures which sometimes signify to us the whole IS ONE
 living thing from a portion, as when God says ^c, *I will pour* Joel ii.
forth of My Spirit upon all flesh, and Moses says to them 28.
 of Israel, *In seventy five souls did thy fathers go down into* Deut. x.
Egypt. And we shall find that this has been done in re- 22.
 gard to Emmanuel Himself: for after the Union, I mean
 that with the flesh, if any call Him Only-Begotten and God
 from forth of God, he will be conceiving of Him as not
 apart from flesh or manhood, and if he say that He is man,
 he will not be excluding Him from being God and Lord ^d.

B. But if we say that the Nature of the Son is One,
 even though He be conceived of as Incarnate, all need is
 there to confess that confusion and commixture take place ^e,

^c Compare Schol. § 27, above p. 214:
 also fragment 8 of Homilies (sub calce
 Comm. in S. Joan. iii. 464), Resp. 7 to
 Tiberius and his fellows (ubi supra, iii.
 589) and elsewhere.

^d So Expl. cap. 3 p. 149 e, cap. 4
 p. 150 e, def. cap. 8 adv. Epp. orient.
 179 b, schol. § 16 fin., § 36, above pp.
 206, 230: also pp. 167, 168.

^e The fear felt by the Easterns that
 One Nature Incarnate must necessarily
 involve the [Apollinarian] mixture, be-
 ing stated in full here and also by Suc-
 census in his hypomnesticon, S. Cyril
 replies carefully both here and in his se-
 cond letter to Succensus, see further on.
 In his first Letter to Succensus, he says,
 "There is therefore One Son, One Lord
 Jesus Christ, both before the Incarna-
 tion and after the Incarnation: for not
 One Son was the Word out of God the
 Father, another again he who is forth of
 the holy Virgin, but Himself Who was
 before the ages is believed to have been
 born according to the flesh too of a wo-
 man, not as though His Godhead took
 a beginning of being, or was called unto
 beginning of existence through the holy
 Virgin; but rather that (as I said) being
 Word before the ages He is said to
 have been born of her because of the
 flesh (διὰ τὴν σάρκα as the better MSS).
 For His is His flesh, just as of each
 one of us his body is his own. But
 since some wreath around us Apolin-
 arius' opinions and say, If ye say that
 the Word out of God the Father is One
 Son by an union exact and mingled
 (καθ' ἑνωσιν ἀκριβῆκαί συγκεκραμένην),
 haply ye are pleased to fancy and say
 that a confusion or commixture or com-
 mingling of the Word with His body
 has had place or a change of the body

into the Nature of Godhead: therefore
 we repelling very earnestly the accusal
 say that the Word out of God the Father
 incomprehensibly and unutterably uni-
 ted to Himself a body ensouled with
 reasonable soul and proceeded man of a
 woman, made as we not by change of
 nature but rather by Economic Good-
 Pleasure (for He desired to be made
 man, not losing the being God by Na-
 ture): yet even though He came down
 in our condition and bare the bondman's
 form, even thus He hath remained in
 the Excellencies of the Godhead and
 in Natural Lordship." Epp. 136 c d e
 137 a. And in his second Letter to the
 same Succensus, putting down first the
 objection which Succensus had sent
 him, ,, If there is one Incarnate Nature
 of the Word, needs must one say that
 there is commingling and commixture,
 the human nature minished as it were
 and being lost (ὀποκλεπτομένης) in
 Him:,, S. Cyril replies, "They who
 pervert right things know not that there
 is in truth One Incarnate Nature of the
 Word. For if He Who is by Nature
 and truly, He Who was ineffably Be-
 gotten, be One Son, and then by as-
 sumption of flesh, not without soul but
 ensouled with reasonable soul, proceed-
 ed man of a woman, He will not there-
 fore be severed into two persons and
 sons, but hath remained One yet not
 without flesh nor without body, but hav-
 ing the body as His own by Union
 which may not be plucked asunder.
 And he who says this, full surely he
 indicates no commingling, no confusion
 nor ought of the kind, nor will this as
 of necessity ensue, whence should it?
 For even though the Only-Begotten &c"
 as above p. 41, note e. Epp. 142 e 143 a.

CHRIST the nature of man being lost^f as it were within Him. For what is the nature of man unto the excellency of God-head?

³ περιττο-
επής A. In highest degree, my friend, is he an idle talker³ who says that confusion and commixture have place, if one Nature of the Son Incarnate and made man, is confessed by us: for one will not be able to make proof thereof by needful and true deductions. But if they set their own

Ps. xxi.
11. will as a law to us, *they devised a counsel which they cannot establish*, for we must give heed, not to them but to the God-inspired Scripture: if they think that needs, on account of the nature of man being nothing compared to the Divine Excellency, must it be lost and consumed as they

S. Matth.
xxii. 29. say, we again will say, *Ye do err not knowing the Scriptures nor the power of God*: for it were not impossible for God Who loves man to make Himself endurable to the measures of the manhood. And this He foresignified to us darkly, when initiating Moses and limning the mode of the Incarnation as yet in types, for He came in likeness of fire on the bush in the wilderness, and the fire kept playing⁴ on the shrub yet was it not consumed. And Moses marvelled at the sight. Yet how is not a tree a thing that has no alliance⁵ with fire? and how is the readily consumed wood patient of the onslaught of flame? But this matter was (as I said) a type of a mystery, which exhibited endurable to the measures of the human nature, the Divine Nature of the Word^g, at His Will, for to Him is nothing impossible.

B. Know well that they will not choose so to think.

A. Their speech will be caught setting forth to us most undoubtedly two sons and two christs.

B. Not two: they say that the Son by Nature, the Word from forth God the Father is One; he that is assumed is

^f ὑποκλεπτομένης. S. Cyril takes up the word a little below by ὑποκλέπτεσθαι τε καὶ δαπανᾶσθαι. This latter word together with the illustration of the bush which *burned with fire and was not consumed*, point to the sense of being absorbed and lost, which Succensus, bishop of Diocaesarea in Isauria, told

S. Cyril that some thought would be a consequence of holding One Nature: see above note e. Succensus uses the words μειουμένης ὥσπερ καὶ ὑποκλεπτομένης.

^g "For as the fire was made endurable to the bush, so to our nature too the Excellency of the Godhead." Pasch. hom. 16 p. 231 c.

⁴ ἐνῆστρο-
απτε
see Pasch.
hom. xvi.
p. 231 b c
⁵ ἀσύμβα-
τον

a man by nature son of David ^h, but is son of God by reason IS ONE
of his having been assumed by God the Word, and that by
reason of God the Word dwelling in him hath he come to
this dignity and hath by grace the sonship.

A. Then wherever will they go as regards mind and understanding who thus think? or how do they say 'not a pair of sons,' when they are severing one from another man and God, if (according to them) the One has the sonship by Nature and truly, the other „ by grace and came „ to this dignity, God the Word indwelling him? „ Hath he then ought greater than we? for He indwelleth in us too. And the most holy Paul confirms us in this, saying, *For this cause bend I my knees to the Father from Whom every family in heaven and on earth is named, that He would give you according to the riches of His glory to be strengthened with might through His Spirit that Christ may dwell in your hearts: for He is in us through the Spirit wherein we cry* Eph. iii.
14—17.
Abba Father. Hence our position is in no wise inferior, Rom. viii.
15.
if we have been vouchsafed the equal by God the Father (for by grace WE too are sons and gods): we have been surely brought unto this supernatural and marvellous dignity as having the Only-Begotten Word of God in-dwelling.

But profane and distraught altogether is it that they should say that JESUS has been vouchsafed the sonship and has won the glory thereof as a matter of favour.

B. Would you say how?

A. Certainly. For first (as I said) He will be thus conceived of as separately another son and christ and lord from Him Who is so truly and by Nature: besides this, another impossibility is brought in and which not unreasonably militates against right reasoning.

B. What is that?

A. The all-wise John says of Christ, *He came unto His own and His own received Him not, but as many as received Him He gave them authority to become God's children.* Will S. John i.
11, 12.

^h See the fragments of S. Cyril's two Books against Theodore of Mopsuestia, to be given below.

CHRIST then he who has the sonship of grace and has it as an adventitious dignity that he won the being what he is ; will such an one bestow freely on others also what he has with difficulty grown rich in ? does not this appear to you incongruous ?

B. Very.

A. That which accrues not by nature but has been introduced from without, will it not be to be lost, as far as possibility goes ?

B. How should it be otherwise ?

A. Hence it will be a possible contingency that the son should some time be able to fall from his sonship : for what is not based on laws of nature is not free from a suspicion of being lost.

B. It is so.

A. In another way too one may see that their dogma is both uncomely and of a truth replete with the supremest ill-counsel : for if it is true that that which is by adoption and grace is ever in the likeness of that which is by nature and in truth, how are WE sons by adoption, having reference⁶ to Him Who is truly Son if He too along with us is among them who are so by grace ? how too in the Gospel-parables is He sent as Son after the servants [had been sent] ? whom when the guardians of the vineyard saw they said, *This man is the heir, come let us kill Him.*

S. Matt.
xxi. 38.

He therefore Who hath appeared in flesh and Who made trial of the crooked ways of the Jews is Son in truth and Free, as born of the Nature that is Free and is not among those who are under the yoke, in that He is conceived of as God, even though He hath been made, as we who are under the yoke, son of bondage, He the SON (as I said) by Nature and truly, Who is beyond the yoke and above the creation : after Whom we too who are sons by adoption and grace have been formed.

B. We do not say (say they) that the man is Son of God, lest we should speak of two sons by Nature. For as the Word Who came down from Heaven is not by nature son

of David, thus neither is he who is forth of the seed of David, Son of God by Natureⁱ. IS ONE

A. They will therefore sever into two sons, and both of them will be proved to be falsely so called, and I think one may say that the mystery of Christ is idle trickery⁷ if it is thus as our opponents foolishly say. Where then is the Union and in regard to what do they say that it has been wrought? or haply this that the Word was made flesh is found to be untrue and to have been superfluously brought in, if the Word from forth God the Father have not been called son of David by reason of His being made from forth his seed after the flesh. But I think that they ought to hear from us too what was said by Christ Himself to the chiefs of the Jews, *What think ye of Christ? whose son is He?* and should they say, David's, they will hear from us, *How therefore does David in spirit call Him Lord saying, The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit Thou on My Right Hand until I put Thine enemies the footstool of Thy Feet? if therefore David in spirit^k call Him Lord, how is He his Son?* S. Matt. xxii. 42.
Ib. 43-45.
does he who is not by Nature and truly Son (as our opponents say) co-sit with God, and is he co-Throned (tell me) with Him Who ruleth all things? albeit, as saith the all-wise Paul, to no one of the angels hath the Father at any time said, My Son art thou, nor yet, Sit on My Right Hand. How then is he who is forth of a woman in supremest dignity and on the seat of the Godhead and beyond all Rule and Lordship, Thrones and Authority and every name that is named? Eph. i. 21.

And note how the Lord saying, *If therefore David in spirit call Him Lord how is He his Son,* induces those who would be searchers of the truth, to hold that the Word when in participation of flesh and blood hath remained even thus One Son: witnessed to that He is God from God-befitting Excellency and Lordship, while His being called also Son of David signifieth full well that He is Man. S. Matt. xxii. 45.

B. Perhaps they will say to this (for I am pointing out

ⁱ Compare the fragments of Theodore as cited before the fifth general council, at the end of this volume. ^k The syriac translation of this treatise has also the words *in spirit* here.

⁷ εἰκαῖον εἶναι φενακισμὸν

CHRIST [their reply]), „Are we then to admit that he too who is „forth of the seed of David is forth of the Essence of „God the Father?,,

A. Yet how hath not such a question exceeding worthlessness? and it is incongruous to the might of the mystery and to them who delight in the truth.

B. Tell me how.

A. Do not divide, saying that he who is forth of the seed of David is other than the One Christ and Son and Lord: for right utterance wills that the Only-Begotten Son Who hath His Being forth of God the Father is Himself, and none other, him who is forth of David after the flesh. Let them not therefore of their boundless stupidity⁸ say that as the Word Who came down out of heaven is not by nature David's Son, thus neither is he who is forth of the seed of David Son of God by Nature. For the Word Who by Nature and in truth beamed forth of the Father, having assumed flesh and blood, as I just now said, hath remained the Same, that is, by Nature and truly Son of the Father, being One Only and not as if one with another, that His Person may be conceived of as One. For thus gathering unto union true and above mind and speech things which by the count of their nature had been sundered unto unlikeness, we shall advance on the unerring path of the faith. For we say that One and the Same Christ Jesus is forth of God the Father as God the Word, forth of the seed of Divine David after the flesh. Do not I seem to you to have most rightly considered these things?

⁸ ἐμβρο-
τησίας

B. Surely.

A. I will ask the opponents something else too.

B. What is that?

A. Are they not assured that the Only-Begotten God the Word hath His Being from forth God the Father and do they not affirm that the man taken (as they say) by connection is made from forth the seed of Divine David?

B. So they say.

A. The Word therefore being God will most assuredly surpass both in Nature and in glory him who is forth of

the seed of David and will overpass to the extent of the difference of the natures. Or if it be not as I say, why do they sever and allot to the one the right to the glory, and bring in the other as recipient, and as gaining what he is by way of a prize and in the light of a largess? but less full surely and inferior is the receiver to the giver and to him who gives the glory that which is participant of the glory from him. IS ONE

B. I suppose that they too would say that most vast is the difference between God and men.

A. Then how does the all-wise Paul, the priest of the Divine mysteries, he that hath indwelling Him Who is preached, and who speaketh in the Spirit: how does he both call Him that after the flesh is of the Jews, God and say that He is *blessed for ever, amen*? what is there above God Rom. ix. 5. Who is over all? what will a man behold in the Word Who is forth of the Father greater than he is who after the flesh is of the Jews if he be a son other than He and separate and not truly so?

B. But he who is forth of the seed of David was admitted (they say) by connection and, seeing that the Word being God indwelt him, he shares His Dignity and His Honour: and this the most holy Paul will teach writing of him that he *was made subject to the Father unto death, yea the death of the cross, wherefore God also super-exalted him and gave him a name which is above every name*: and this name is God. Phil. ii. 8, 9.

A. Do they then say that to him that is of the seed of David separately and as to another son apart by himself has been given by God *the name which is above every name*?

B. Yea (they say), for to the Only-Begotten Who is God and forth of God by Nature, how could that be given which He hath?

A. Therefore, if the receiving is not put respecting Him, let accurate investigation be made from what the Divine Paul himself hath written: *For let each one of yourselves be of the mind which was also in Christ Jesus Who being in the form of God held not the being Equal to God a thing to seize*¹, 1b. 5—9.

¹ See above p. 165 note j.

CHRIST yet did He empty Himself taking bondman's form, made in likeness of men, and found in fashion as a man He abased Himself made subject unto death, yea the death of the cross: wherefore God also super-exalted Him and gave Him the^m name which is above every name. Ifⁿ therefore it is, according to them, the man that is forth of the seed of David conceived of separately and by himself who received the name that is above all, let them shew him pre-existing in the Form of God, and not holding the being equal to God a matter for robbery and moreover taking bondman's form, as though that is he had it not and was not so ere he took it: albeit as themselves say and choose to think, himself is the bondman's form. Then how can he take it as though he had it not? how too will a man be conceived of as made in likeness of men, and be found in fashion as a man? The force of the ideas then will turn them round even against their will to know the truth.

B. What truth?

A. GOD the WORD Who is in the Form of God the Father, the Impress of His Person, Who is in all Equal to Him Who begat Him, hath emptied Himself.

B. And what is the emptying^o?

A. The being in assumption of flesh and in bondman's form, the likeness to us of Him Who is not as we in His own Nature but is over the whole creation. Thus hath

^m The codices A.B.C. of the New Testament insert the article, *the Name*. Among the different quotations of this text by S. Cyril there is variation of MSS., but the article frequently occurs: and in the Thesaurus the very good xth century Ms. Cod. Monac. 331 has it.

ⁿ See this passage carefully explained in S. Cyril's Treatise to the Emperresses Pulcheria and Eudocia on the right Faith, cap. 13 pp. 141 e 142.

^o "He was God forth of God, Only out of Only, and Ineffably Begotten: but when He was made as we, then then will He at last be classed with His brethren through being called First-born. For where is the emptying, except in His being made First-born out of Only-Begotten, and among creatures with us as man Who is above all creation? where at all became He *poor being Rich*, except

He is seen assuming what is alien to Him, through which also He became poor?" Dial. 4 p. 519 c d. Against the Arians who argued from *the name above every name* that the Son was exalted in consequence of His humiliation S. Cyril writes, "Therefore (for I will say something) deeming for the moment below what is fitting for need sake: let the Only-Begotten have the greatest thank to the falls of those on the earth and to our sins, let Him know that the sins of human nature are to Him the cause of God-making glory. For had we not sinned He had not been made as we, had He not been made as we, neither had He endured the cross, and had He not died neither had He obtained the obligation of being worshipped by ourselves and the holy angels." Dial. 5 p. 567 fin. See also above p. 57 note y.

He abased Himself, lowering Himself economically into the measures of the human nature; yet was He even so God, as having not by gift That which comes to Him by Nature. Therefore He also said to God the Father Which is in Heaven, *Father glorify Me with the glory which I had before the world was, with Thee.* For I do not suppose that they will say that *he* is asking for the glory which was before the world as being his own, he [I mean] who in the last times of the world was born of the seed of David, if so be he is son by himself other than He Who is so by Nature and truly: but this utterance will rather be a most God-befitting one. For it needed, it needed that He should be co-fashioned⁹ in the measures of the manhood and should have the Excellence of the God-befitting Dignity Unimpaired and Essentially in Himself just as it is in the Father too. For how will that be true, *There shall be in thee no new god*, if according to them a man is made god by connection with the Word and is declared co-enthroned and sharer of the Father's Dignity?

is ONE

S. John xvii. 5.

⁹ i.e. with us

Ps. lxxxi. 9.

B. You say well.

A. How is one to conceive of that which is wisely spoken by voice of Paul, *For even though there be many gods both in heaven and on earth yet to us is One God the Father from Whom are all things and we from Him, and One Lord Jesus Christ through Whom are all things and we through Him?* For there being One Lord Jesus Christ and Paul having full well affirmed that through Him all things have been brought to their birth, what shall we do, noble sirs, when ye distinguish from the assumed man as ye call him, the Word from forth God the Father? which are we to say was the Creator of all?

1 Cor. viii. 5, 6.

B. The Son by Nature from forth God the Father, i. e., the Only-Begotten.

A. Yet does the priest to us of the Divine Mysteries say that through Jesus Christ were all things brought to being, and that He is One and Only. I will recall that when investigating the name Christ we said that it introduces to us the declaration of anointing: for on account of having

above p. 252.

CHRIST been anointed would any be called *christ*^p. Either therefore let them say that the Word from forth God the Father has been anointed in His proper Nature and that He was in need of sanctification through the Spirit and of participation from Him, or let them teach how He is to be conceived of as Christ Who has never been anointed, and how the Only-Begotten Word of God will be called separately Jesus, although blessed Gabriel says to the holy Virgin, *Fear not Mary, for lo thou shalt conceive in thy womb and shalt bear a Son and shalt call His Name Jesus, for He shall save His people from their sins.*

S. Luke i.
30, 31.

S. Matth.
i. 21.

B. Do we then say that all things have been made through a man and that he who in the last times of the world hath birth of a woman is Creator of heaven and earth and in short of all things that are in them?

A. Do thou too say, for I will ask: Has not the Word been made flesh? has He not been called son of man? took He not bondman's form? emptied He not Himself, made in likeness of men and found in fashion as man? If therefore they deny the Economy, the Divine Disciples will withstand them saying, *And we saw and testify that the Father hath sent the Son Saviour of the world: whoso shall confess that Jesus is the Son of God God abideth in him and he in God, and again, Herein is known^q the Spirit of God, every spirit which confesseth that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh is from God and every spirit which does not confess Jesus is not from God.* Besides what sense has it, to conceive of a man that he has *come in flesh*? to one who is external to flesh and who is of Nature not ours, will rather

1 S. John
iv. 14, 15.

Ib. 2, 3.

^p See above p. 252 and Scholia § 1 above p. 185, *What is Christ*. In both passages are mentioned those who were called *christs* from having been anointed: we have translated, *anointed*, reserving the Greek word *Christ*, for the Name of our Master.

^q *γινώσκειται*, is known, instead of *γινώσκετε*, ye know. The interchange of the vowels *ε* and *αι*, having the same sound, is so common, that it does not in general amount to a difference of reading. In the treatise *de recta fide* to the Emperor Theodosius, both MSS. give

γινώσχετε, while in S. Cyril's second publication of it as the seventh of these Dialogues *γινώσκειται* remains. In S. Cyril's *Treatise de recta fide* (p. 94 c) to the Princesses Arcadia and Marina, *γινώσκειται* is read, and in this place not only does the one MS. which has preserved us the treatise give *γινώσκειται* but also it was so translated in the Syriac version of this treatise, the British Museum MS. Add. 17149 fol. 58 init. written in the sixth century, i. e. in the century immediately following S. Cyril.

belong the being made in flesh also and therewith coming IS ONE into this world together with remaining what He is. Hence even though He have been made man, there is nothing to hinder our conceiving that through Him were all things brought into being, in that He is conceived of as God and co-eternal with the Father. For the Word being God has not been changed, even though He have assumed flesh ensouled with a reasonable soul, not connecting a man with Himself, as they say who innovate the Faith, but Himself made flesh as I said, i. e., man: for thus will the having been anointed besit Him nor meet with any objection; and He will be called Jesus too, being Himself in truth He Who underwent birth in the flesh from forth a woman. For thus hath He saved His own people, not as a man con-^{above p.} nected with God but as God made in the likeness of the im-^{188.} perilled, in order that in Him first the human race might be re-formed to what it was in the beginning: for *all* ^{2 Cor. v. 17.} *things were new in Him.*

B. Hence we must refuse to think or to say that a man has been connected with God the Word and been made partaker of His Dignity and that he possesses the sonship as a grace.

A. Most entirely: for the sense of the sacred Scriptures acknowledges it not, but it is the invention rather of a mind loving novelty^r and feeble and weak and unable to see the depth of the mystery: for where has anything of this kind been said by the holy Scripture? for the Divine Paul stating full clearly the Mystery of the Incarnation of the Only-Begotten, says, *For since the little ones have par-* ^{Heb. ii. 14.} *taken of blood and flesh, He too likewise partook of the same in order that through death He might bring to nought him that has the power of death, i. e. the devil, and elsewhere, For the impossibility of the law wherein it was weak through* ^{Rom. viii. 3, 4.} *the flesh God sending His own Son in likeness of flesh of sin and for sin, condemned sin in the flesh, in order that the ordinance of the law might be fulfilled in us who walk not ac-*

^r The Greek has φιλοκένον, *loving empty show*, but the syriac translation *καίνος* are put one for the other: see last appears to have read φιλοκαίνον, *novel-* ^{note as to the interchange of ε and αι.}

CHRIST *ording to the flesh but according to the Spirit.* But we say that there has partaken of blood and flesh according to the mind befitting the inspired writers—not he who is in flesh and blood of his proper nature and cannot be otherwise but—He Who is not so and is of other Nature than ours; and that He has been made both *from forth a woman and in likeness of flesh of sin* Who is for our sakes as we together with being above us too in that He is conceived of as God. For the Word has been made flesh, yet not flesh of sin: but in *likeness of flesh of sin* did He converse with them on the earth as man and has been made in likeness as we, yet not along with us under sin but removed from knowing transgression (for the Same was God alike and Man): but they who bear away (I know not how) from the Only-Begotten the so august and admirable Economy, connect with Him a man by way of accident¹, embellished with honours from without and adorned with glory not his; and no true God but partner and partaker with God, and son falsely so named, saviour that is himself saved, redeemer who is redeemed: albeit the blessed Paul has written thus, *For the saving grace of God appeared to all men, in order that denying impiety and worldly lusts we might live soberly and religiously in the present life, awaiting the blessed hope and manifestation of the glory of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ.*

B. Yea, they say: for seeing that He was altogether vouchsafed connection with God the Word, he too was called *great God* albeit made of the seed of David.

Rom. i. 22. A. For shame, what madness: *affirming that they are wise they became foolish*, as it is written. For they transform (as I said) the force of the mystery of Christ into all that is opposite; and their saying that he has been vouchsafed will be nought else than declaring that he is mere man and in ill counsel severing him into an utter diversity, so that a pair of sons be conceived of, to be worshipped, whereof One is so by Nature and truly, the other adopted and bastard and having nothing that is his own, that to him too along with ourselves it may be said, *For what hast*

compare
p. 248
note g, p.
254 note
m.

¹ σχετικῶς, *non-essentially*

¹ Cor.
iv. 7.

thou that thou receivedst not : and then whither will the all- IS ONE
 wise Paul go who says, *For the Son of God Christ Jesus* 2 Cor. i. 19.
Who was preached among you through me and Silvanus and
Timothy was not Yes and No but in Him was Yes? For how
 was He not *Yes and No*, if He is said to be God and is not
 God? if the names SON and LORD are falsely attributed to
 Him? and if He be thus as they say, it will belong to Him
 to have to say, *But by the grace of God I am what I am.* 1 Cor. xv. 10.
 For that which belongs not by nature but is from without
 and introduced and given by another, will not belong to
 the recipient but to Him who imparts it and bestows it.
 And how did He also say, *I am the Truth*, if there is no- S. John xiv. 6.
 thing true about Him? haply too He was *comprehended by* Ib. i. 5.
the darkness, if He lies. But He *did not sin neither was* Isa. liii. 9.
guile found in His mouth, as it is written.

B. No surely.

A. And where is the emptiness? and of whom will it be
 conceived to have happened? for one cannot see any one
 emptied but on the contrary being filled albeit he has
 not fulness in his own nature: for he would not have
 needed what was another's and it would have been super-
 fluous to him to have received, if he had had, of his own,
 self-completeness² and sufficiency unto every thing, but of ² τὸ αὐτο-
τελές
Christ's fulness did all we receive, and the preaching of the S. John i. 16.
 inspired will not lie. For full is Christ and nothing what-
 ever is given to Him so far as He is conceived of as, and
 is, God, even though to receive have been made His by
 reason of the measure of the manhood and in that He be- ³ πῆφηνε,
appeared
 came³ as we, to whom it will be said full rightly, *For what* 1 Cor. iv. 7.
hast thou that thou receivedst not?

B. Yea, he says, the Word from forth God the Father is
 One Christ and Son and Lord, he who is forth of David's
 seed being connected with Him.

A. But, most excellent sirs, may one say to them, he who
 has another connected with him will not be conceived of as
 one, how could he? but as one with one, i. e. with another,
 and these are full surely two. But He will be conceived
 to be in truth One Son, if we say that the Same is God the

CHRIST Word Divinely begotten from God, and in marvellous manner man and from a woman after the flesh.

S. John
x. 33.

But if setting apart and severing him that is from the seed of David, they dismiss him from being in truth God and Son and say rather that he is partner in sonship and partaker of glory not his own, not idly (as I suppose) shall we find the accusations against Him by the Jews to have been made. For they said, *For a good work we stone Thee not but for blasphemy because THOU being man makest Thyself God.*

B. And indeed they do say that both Very God and Son is the One Christ, i. e., the Word out of God taking by connection him who is of David's seed.

above p.
273.

A. But if the Word out of God the Father is not He Who is also according to the flesh from a woman, but is Other with other^s, how will he be called Christ who has not been anointed as we already said?

προαιώνιος

Heb. xiii.
8.

B. Therefore if he who is of the seed of David is none other than the Word from forth God the Father, let him be called also *before time*: then how does the all-wise Paul, repelling the opinion, demand as it were with a question, and say, Jesus Christ yesterday and to-day, is he the same for ever too? Or in another way too: for Jesus, he says, who is yesterday and to-day, will be the same for ever too, i. e., recent and yesterday and to-day, albeit God the Word co-existeth with His own Father.

A. They do wrong exceedingly, turning aside the truth unto that which in their unwisdom seems good to them and corrupting the accuracy of the sacred Scriptures. If now one say that Christ Jesus is also before time, he will not miss of the truth, if the Word which is before time is One Son and Lord, Who in the last times underwent birth after the flesh of a woman. And that the Word made man

* ἕτερος μεθ' ἑτέρου is untrue because God and Man is One Christ; the things we are taught regarding the One Christ (see Scholia § 36, above p. 228), His being born and calling into being, His growth in wisdom and being the Giver of Wisdom, His hallowing and being hallowed,

baptizing and being baptized, quickening and being quickened belong not ἑτέρῳ καὶ ἑτέρῳ, not to one person and another, but to Christ, κατ' ἕλλο καὶ ἕλλο, in one way and another, the one to Him as God, the other to Him as man, yet all to One.

as we has not been changed, the Spirit-clad has shewn IS ONE saying, *Jesus Christ yesterday and to-day, the Same too for Ib. ever.* And *yesterday* indicates past time, *to-day* present time, *for ever* that which is future and to come.

But if they think that they have thought out something clever, in taking *yesterday and to-day* to mean recent, asserting and saying, He that is yesterday and to-day how will he be also for ever, WE too will transfer the force of the question unto the direct opposite: The Word which is for ever how will He take to Himself Yesterday and to-day, if Christ is One and has not been *divided*, as says the Divine Paul? For that thus He would be known by us, you will know hence also. For although seen in the flesh and having entered on the measures of the human nature, He has testified to Himself His Eternal⁴ Being saying, *Verily I say to you, Before Abraham was I am*, and again, *If I told you the things of earth and ye believe not, how will ye believe if I tell you those of Heaven? and no one hath gone up into Heaven except He which descended from heaven, the Son of man.* For as Word Which ever is and before the ages, come down from heaven, and then the Same appearing man as we; as One Christ and Lord even when He was made flesh, does He say these things.

1 Cor. i. 13.

⁴ προαί-
μιον
S. John
viii. 58.
Ib. iii. 12,
13.

B. Another argument too has been discovered by them, it is this: they say that he which is of the seed of David ought so to be called son of God as the Word Which is forth of God the Father is said to be son of David: for neither is so by nature^t.

A. Now let the mode of the true Union come in, that so the Word be believed to have been made flesh, i. e. man, and therefore son of David not falsely but as from forth him according to the flesh, having remained too what He was, i. e. God out of God. And verily the priests of the gospel preachings, knowing that the Same is God alike and man, have told us of Him. It is written of the blessed Baptist that, *On the morrow he seeth Jesus coming to him and*

Ib. i. 29-31.

^t Compare the fragments cited before the fifth council from S. Cyril's first book against Theodore of Mopsuestia.

CHRIST saith, *Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world: this it is of whom I said, After me cometh a Man which has been made before me because He is prior to me, and I knew Him not, but in order that He should be manifested to Israel, therefore came I baptizing in water.* Understand therefore how he saying, *a Man*, and calling Him a *Lamb*, says that none other is He who *taketh away the sin of the world*, and hath allotted to Him this great and truly vast and God-befitting Dignity. And he says that He is *before and prior* to him, albeit made after him, I mean according to the time of the generation after the flesh. For if Emmanuel is late-bornⁿ as man, yet was He before every time as God. His therefore is both the recent humanly and the Eternal Divinely: hence the all-excellent Peter too, looking on the Word not bare nor without flesh, but appearing in flesh and blood, clearly and unerringly^v made his tribute of faith in Him, saying, *Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God*, and heard in reply, *Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona, because flesh and blood revealed it not to thee, but My Father which is in Heaven.* But were not the Mystery deep, and God in the flesh, but [only] a man having according to them the sonship by grace, how should he have needed an Initiator^x so great, that no one of them on the earth revealed it to the disciple, but that he had the Father Himself as his Instructor in this?

see above
p. 100
and note
s.

S. Matt.
xvi. 16.
Ib. 17.

Ib. xiv.
33.

see above
p. 230 and

And the Divine Disciples too, seeing Him once traversing^y the expanse of the sea, were astonished at the miracle and confessed the Faith, *saying, Truly Thou art the Son of God.* Yet if he is bastard and falsely-called and has from adoption that he is son, let them accuse the disciples of falsehood, and that when they swore it. For they have added *Truly*, affirming that He is the Son of God the Father.

B. You speak most excellently.

ⁿ ὁψιγενής. compare
"Late in time behold Him come
Meek offspring of a Virgin's womb."
^v ἀπλανῶς. Euthymius Zigabenus in
his extract from this treatise has ἀπλῶς,
simply, which is a far more usual ex-
pression with S. Cyril: ἀπλανῆ however
occurs in de recta fide to the Emperor,

p. 26 c.

^x S. Cyril uses the same argument in
his Treatise de recta fide to the Princesses
Arcadia and Marina, p. 82 b. comp. too
Schol. § 20, above p. 209.

^y See Schol. § 36, and the Treatise de
Recta fide to the Emperor Theodosius,
p. 28 e.

A. How too has the Son of man His own angels^z, and is ONE shines forth in the glory of His Father? for He says, *The S. Matth.*
Son of Man is about to come in the glory of His Father^a xvi. 17.
with His angels, and again, *And the Son of Man will send* Ib. xiii.
His Angels. And if they disbelieve yet, even seeing Him 41.
crowned in God-befitting glory and dignities so splendid
and supreme, they shall hear Him say, *If ye believe Me not* S. John
believe My works, and again, *If I do not the works of My* x. 38.
Father, believe Me not^b. For the beholding in a man the Ib. 37.
excellency of the unspeakable glory, supplied not as An-
other's nor in the light of a favour, but His very own: how
will it not persuade us that He was God in likeness as we
and truly Son of God Who is over all?

B. He affirmed (he says) that His were the angels, and
He was made the worker of these signs, the Word indwell- sec chap-
ing Him and having imparted to Him His own glory and ter 9.
operation: for it is written, *Jesus of Nazareth how God* Acts x.
anointed Him with the Holy Ghost and power, Who went 38.
about doing good and healing all that are oppressed by the
devil. Anointed therefore both with power and with the
Spirit, was He a wonder-worker^c.

A. Then, since the Word being God, both Holy and
having Essentially and by Nature All-Might, will never
need either power from another or an imparted holiness:
who now is He Who has been anointed with power and
the Holy Ghost?

B. They will perhaps say, The man who is assumed by
connection.

A. He therefore is Jesus Christ by himself and separate-
ly, of Whom too the all-wise Paul says, *Yet to us One God* 1 Cor.
viii. 6.

^z Lo again He says that the spirits
above are His angels, albeit He is called
son of man." de recta fide to the
Princesses, p. 82 c. "We believe that
He is both Very God and hath been
made son of man economically for our
sakes while remaining God, and is One
Lord Jesus Christ." de Recta fide to
the Empresses, fin. p. 180 b.

^a The words, *For He says*—of His Fa-
ther, are added from the Syriac transla-
tion of this treatise. They may have
been omitted by the one Greek MS.
which has preserved as this treatise and

by Euthymius, from the eye of the copy-
ist wandering from one, *in the glory of*
His Father, to the other.

^b I have followed in this the Syriac
translation, it being very much S. Cy-
ril's habit to cite first one verse, and
then a verse or two a little preceding it:
the Greek MS. here adds, *but if I do,*
though ye believe not Me, believe My
works. But it looks like only an attempt
to make the citation seem neater.

^c See Theodoret's objection to chap-
ter 9, where he quotes the same text, in
S. Cyril's Def. xii. capp. p. 227 d.

CHRIST *the Father from Whom all things and WE from Him and One Lord Jesus Christ through Whom all things and WE through Him.* How then (tell me) are *all things through* a man? why is he ranked as Son with the Father and

⁵ καὶ ἀμέ- that immediately ⁵, no one intervening? and wherever
σως shall we put the Only-Begotten when we have brought in-
⁶ the op- to His place the man; and that (as he ⁶ says) inwrought
ponent by Him and honoured because of Him?

Has not their argument outstepped what is reasonable, is it not borne beyond bound, and as having utterly missed of the truth, will it not reasonably incur laughter?

B. The Word of God (he says) has been called man in some such way as this: as the man who was assumed by Him was born in Bethlehem of Judæa, but is called a *Nazarene* because he dwelt at Nazareth ^d, so too God the Word is called man because He dwelt in man.

A. O understanding senile and mind unstrung and know-
Joel i. 5. *ing how to stutter and nought else! Rouse ye, ye drunkards, from their wine,* let one say to the opponents: why do ye violence to the truth and, turning aside the force of the Divine doctrines, are borne forth of the King's way? The Word (as it seems) *has* no longer *been made flesh*, according to the Scriptures, but rather a dweller in man ⁷, and it were meet that He should be called, of-man ⁸, not
⁷ ἀνθρωπο- according to the Scriptures, but rather a dweller in man ⁷,
πολίτης and it were meet that He should be called, of-man ⁸, not
⁸ ἀνθρωπ- and it were meet that He should be called, of-man ⁸, not
αἶον man, just as he who dwelt at Nazareth was called, of-Naza-
⁹ ναζωραῖ- reth ⁹, not Nazareth. And I think that there is nothing
ος at all to hinder, if they think that their foolish invention is right, that together with the Son, the Father and also the Holy Ghost should be called man: for the fulness of the Holy and Consubstantial Trinity dwelleth in us through the SPIRIT. And verily Paul saith, *Do ye not know that ye are God's Temple and the Spirit of God dwelleth in you, yea,*

^d Severus of Antioch, who lived about 70 years after S. Cyril's death, quoting from S. Cyril's books against Diodore and Theodore, gives this passage (S. Cyril cites Theodorus Archbishop of Mopsuestia), „But, says he, for as, although He was of Bethlehem, He was called a Nazarene on account of His living and His bringing up there; so too a man

because He dwelt in man:., and S. Cyril replies to these things thus, “Madness therefore and childishness and worthy of old women is the word: for not as from a city one is called a citizen or of the place, so on account of indwelling a man is the Word Who is God called man.”

and Christ Himself, *If a man love Me he will keep My word, and My Father will love him and we will come to him and make Our Abode with him.* Yet the Father has never been called man, nor yet has the Holy Ghost, by reason of indwelling in us: but those men laugh at the Mystery of the Incarnation and twist round unto what is discordant, the doctrines of the Church which are so right and worthy of being heard.

But let our argument proceed again on its course, bidding farewell to their vomit. For if, because of the Word being in him, he have been made a worker of signs, they perchance say that he is one of the holy Prophets, for [the Word] has wrought Divine signs through the hands of the saints too: but if they say that the Son is in these, they lower Him into the measure of Prophets or Apostles.

B. Yea, they say, for has He not been called Prophet^c and Apostle?

A. You are not wrong: for Moses said to them of the race of Israel, *A Prophet shall the Lord your God raise up to you out of your brethren, as me:* the Divine Paul too has written, *Therefore, holy brethren, partakers of the heavenly calling, consider the Apostle and High priest of our confession Jesus.*

Acts iii.
22 from
Deut.
xviii. 13.
Heb. iii.
1.

Let them tell then, for I will ask: Would the grace of Prophecy or the being vouchsafed apostolic prerogative, and being called High Priest too, be an honour to a man?

see above
pp. 85,
86, 88
sqq.

B. Yes.

A. Yet they would say that to Christ in that He is conceived of as God these things are petty and not worthy of receiving, even though through these very things He is seen emptied and receiving them with the manhood. But as being God by Nature and Lord in truth, He took bondman's form, made therein and assuming our estate, so, both giving the Spirit of Prophecy and ordaining Apostles and establishing Priests¹, He was *made like in all things to His brethren*: for thus was He named, Prophet, Apostle, High Priest.

¹ ἱερωσύνης
Ib. ii. 17.

^c See below fragment 5 against Diodore.

CHRIST B. But even though they grant that He was a Prophet, they say that He was not so as one of the Prophets, but that He was placed far above their measure^f. For they had the grace meted to them and accruing to them in time, He was full of the Godhead even straightway from His very Birth, for the Word being God was with Him.

A. It was then in the amount of grace and in length of time that Christ has surpassed the holy Prophets which were before Him, and it is this which is His special privilege². The point for investigation is whether He was a Prophet at all, and not His having more or less or even excelling, seeing that in His being a Prophet and in His not passing beyond our measure does His low estate consist³, even though He be conceived of as this from the beginning, just as was the holy Baptist too, of whom the blessed angel says, *And he shall be filled with the Holy Ghost even from his mother's womb*. How then was the one a servant, the Other All-glorious in the dignity of Lord? And of himself blessed John says, *He that is of the earth of the earth he speaketh*, but of Emmanuel, *He that cometh from above is superior to all*.

B. Yet (will they perchance say) the Word which hath beamed forth of God the Father is above, yea and *superior to all*; and they are afraid to allot to Him what belong to man, lest haply He be wronged thereby and brought down to dishonour. Therefore they affirm that He took a man and connected with Himself this person in regard to whom what belong to man might have place and be spoken of, and no damage should accrue to the Nature of the Word Himself.

A. Hence he who is assumed will confessedly be conceived of and said to be other than He. But we will not follow their fatuity nor make them definers and innovators^g of our Faith, neglecting the sacred Scripture and dishonour-

^f See below fragments 14 and 18, against Diodore.

^g ὀριστὰς καὶ καινοτόμους. The ὀρισταί are officials appointed to settle ques-

tions of boundary between public and private lands (Liddell and Scott): καινοτόμοι would of course involve that the former boundary would be altered.

² τὸ ἐξαιρετον

³ τὸ σμικροπρεπές ἐστὶν αὐτῷ

S. Luke i. 15.

S. John iii. 31.

ing the Tradition from forth the holy Apostles and Evangelists: nor, for that a mind weak and most empty of learning has taken up its abode in them, and one that cannot look into the depth of the mystery, let us also go astray, sharing their unlearning and refusing to go the straight way of the truth. But we know that the most holy Paul hath written that we ought to *throw down reasonings and every height which reareth itself against the knowledge of God and to reduce captive every thought unto the obedience of Christ.* IS ONE
2 Cor. x.
5.

But now, can you tell wherewith they are offended and in Jewish wise stumble at the stone of offence? Is. viii.
14.

B. I can, for how should I not? they are very many, but they shall be told one by one.

They say therefore that Christ has been sanctified by the Father: for it has been written, *And John witnessed saying, I have seen the Spirit descending out of heaven and It abode on Him and I did not know Him but He who sent me to baptize in water, He said to me, Upon Whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending and abiding upon Him, This is He Who baptizes with the Holy Ghost; and I have seen and have witnessed that this is the Son of God: Paul too hath written of Him, For He Who sanctifieth and the sanctified are all out of One.* S. John
i. 32—34.
Heb. ii.
11. For the Word being God and Holy by Nature will by no means be sanctified; it remains therefore to say that the man assumed by Him in the way of connection has been sanctified.

A. How then does He Who has been baptized and Who received the open Descent of the Spirit, baptize with the Holy Ghost and perform what belong to and beseech the Divine Nature alone? for He is the Bestower of holiness. And in proof of this the Incarnate Word breathed, as a bodily act, His own proper good, upon the holy Apostles saying, *Receive ye the Holy Ghost, whosoever sins ye remit they have been remitted, whosoever ye retain they have been retained.* S. John
i. 32.
Ib. xx.
22, 23. And how has the divine Baptist, most clearly indicating Him Who has been sanctified, borne witness

CHRIST that *This is the Son of God*, alone and with the article ^h? For the initiator of the world should, if he knew that it was another son beside Him Who is truly Son, have signified the Truth, saying clearly, This is he who by connection with the Son Who is by Nature and in truth has been made son by gift and grace: but he said nothing of the kind but, knowing that He is One and the Same, both Word from forth of God the Father, and from forth the seed of David according to the flesh, says that He was sanctified, as man, and again sanctifies, in that He is conceived of as God: for He was (as I said) this and that in the Same. If therefore He have not been made man, if He have not been born after the flesh from a woman, let us drive away from Him what belong to man: but if it is true that lowering Himself unto emptiness He hath been made as we, why do they part from Him the things through which He will be conceived of as emptied, with utter ill-counsel undoing the fair scheme of the Economy with flesh?

B. If therefore He be said both to have received glory and been made Lord and to be exalted by the Father, to be set King also, shall you attribute these too to God the Word and will you not full surely be damaging His glory?

A. That the Nature of God the Word has been filled with true glory, Royalty and Lordship, how can one doubt? and that He is firmly to be conceived of as being in heights the most God-befitting? but since He appeared as man to whom all things are a gift and imparted: therefore He, Full and giving to all from out *His own fulness*, in human wise receives, making our poverty His own: and in Christ was an unwonted and strange marvel, in servant's form Lordship, in human mean estate God-befitting glory, that which is under the yoke (as to the measure of manhood) crowned with the dignities of Royalty, and in Supremest Excellences that which is low. For the Only-Begotten hath been made man, not in order that He might remain in the mea-

S. John
i. 16.

^h ἐνάρθρως, like συνάρθρως, S. Cyril on S. John 1109 c. ἄρθρον is the article, and is so used by S. Cyril, in his commentary on S. John 39 c d 61 b (pp. 45, 71 O.T.), and among the fragments of the lost Book 7, 683 init.

sure of the emptying, but in order that taking along there-
 with what is its, He might thus too be known to be God
 by Nature and might ennoble because of Himself the na-
 ture of man, rendering it participate of holy and Divine
 dignities. And we shall find the saints themselves too
 calling the Son even when He was made man, the glory
 of God the Father, and King and Lord. For Esaias some-
 where says, *As if a man gleaneth an olive-tree, thus shall*
they glean them, and when the vintage ceaseth, these shall
shout with their voice, and they that are left in the earth shall
rejoice together with the glory of the Lord, and again ano-
 ther of the saints says, *Shine o Jerusalem for thy light is*
come and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee: lo dark-
ness and gloom shall cover the earth but upon thee shall the
Lord appear and the glory of the Lord shall be seen on thee:
 and James His disciple says, *Brethren, have not in respect*
of persons the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ of glory, the
 Divine Peter again, *If ye are reproached for Christⁱ, ye are*
blessed, because the Spirit of glory and of God hath rested
upon you.

IS ONE

Is. xxiv.
13, 14.
LXX.

Ib. lx. 1,
2.

S. James
ii. 1.

1 S. Pet.
iv. 14.

B. Enough, good sir, of such testimonies: but tell us
 how we ought to understand what is written of Christ,
Who in the days of His flesh having offered supplications and
entreaties with mighty cry and tears to Him that is able to
save Him from death and, heard for His fear⁴, although Son,
learned obedience from the things which He suffered and, per-
fected, became author to them that obey Him of salvation in-
dissoluble; I will add to what I said, this too, *My God, My*
God, why forsookest Thou Me? for they say that such things
 are incongruous to God the Word and I would say that
 they come very far short of His inherent Excellence.

Heb. v.
7-9.

⁴ εὐλαβεί-
as, godly
fear

S. Matth.
xxvii. 46.

A. I myself too know that these things would not besit
 the Word which is sprung forth of God the Father, if the
 mode of the Economy be put aside^k and if we do not admit

ⁱ ἐν ὀνόματι χριστοῦ, all known MSS.
 of S. Peter's Epistle, but Euthymius
 and the Syriac translation of this Trea-
 tise agree with the MS. from which it
 was printed, in having ἐν χριστῷ, for
 Christ, instead of for the name of Christ:

see too S. Cyril's Epistles, p. 79 fin.

* So too had S. Cyril written in his
 Dialogues to Hermias, "If one write of
 Him, *Who in the days of His flesh of-*
fered supplications and entreaties to Him
That can save Him from death &c., de-

CHRIST that He have been made flesh according to the Scriptures: but since we rest firmly on this, and the doubting one whit about it involves a charge of impiety, come let us view closely, as far as we may, the depth of the economy.

The Word therefore from forth of God the Father appeared in likeness of us, to aid in countless ways our human condition and to shew full well the path that leads us to everything that is admirable. It was then necessary that we should learn, when temptation attacks them who are in peril for the love of God, what sort of people they ought to be who have chosen to live a life and conversation noble and excellent; whether they should be seen by their Saviour remiss and falling back into negligence and out of due season revelling and spreading themselves out for delight: or intent unto prayer and bathed in tears and thirsting for aid from Him and for manliness⁵, if He should be pleased that we should also suffer. It needed besides what we should know to our profit, whither the goal of obedience ends and through what prizes it goes, what and how great the reward of endurance. Christ therefore became a pattern of such things, and hereto the divine Peter confirms us saying, *For what renown if sinning and buffeted ye endure? but if well-doing ye endure, this is thank from God, because Christ too died for us, leaving us¹ an ensample that ye should follow His steps.* Hence the Word of God no longer bare^m and imparticipate in the measures of the emptying but *in the days of His flesh* has been made a pattern to us; in that then without any blame He could use the measures of the human nature and prolong His prayer and shed the tearⁿ and seem now both to need a Saviour and

⁵ εὐανδρίαν

1 S. Pet. ii. 20, 21.

scend a little and take account of the measure of the human nature. For the Impress of the Father would not have died; but since the supplication has been made *in the days of His flesh*, the fear will be that of the flesh and the dread of death of the human nature in itself (ἰδι-κῶς). Hence even though He be said to receive *the Name which is above every Name*, do not drive away the Son from the bounds of Godhead in that He is Word and hath beamed forth from God the Father; for He was by Nature and

truly God even before the times of the emptying." Dial. 5 p. 571 e.

¹ Here the manuscript has *you*: I have translated *us* with Euthymius and the Syriac translation.

^m γυμνός, unclothed in the human nature; so S. Proclus in his great homily, "Yet was He born of a woman, God not bare (γυμνός) and man not mere (ψιλός)." Serm. 1 in Migne, Patrologia t. lxxv. 681.

ⁿ See the magnificent passage in S. Cyril's Defence against Theodoret's ob-

to learn obedience, albeit Son. For the Spirit-clad was IS ONE as it were astonished at the Mystery, that being by Nature and truly Son and Eminent in the glories of the Godhead He let Himself down unto low estate, so as to undergo the meanness of our human poverty. Yet was the pattern ⁶ (as I δ τοῦ πράγμα-
τος τύπος said) comely and helpful, so as one might learn hence, and that full easily, that we ought not to hasten another road, when the season calls us to manliness. And indeed Christ said at one time, *And fear not them that slay the body but* S. Matth.
x. 28. *cannot slay the soul, but rather fear Him Who can destroy* Ib. xvi.
24. *both soul and body in Hell, at another again, If any man will come after Me let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow Me.* The duty of following Him, what else is it than that we must be all-manly against temptations, and with that, ask the aid that is from above not negligently nor remissly but using rather intensest prayers^o and letting fall from our eyes the tear of godly fear?

B. You say well.

A. If moreover He say, *My God My God why forsookest* Ib. xxvii.
26. *Thou Me*, how will they understand it?

B. They would deem, as I suppose, that these are the words of the man who is assumed.

A. Of one who has broken down^p and who considers the

jection to his tenth chapter (quoted also by Dr. Bright in his article on S. Cyril in the Dictionary of Christian Biography): "He wept as man that He might stay thy tear, He feared, economically committing to His flesh to suffer what belonged to it, that He might make us of fairest courage, He refused the Cup that the Cross might reveal the impiety of the Jews, He is said to be weak in His human nature that He might end thy weakness, He prolonged prayers and supplications in order that He might render the Father's Ear open to thy prayers, in order that *thou* mightest learn not to slumber in temptations but rather to be all-intense unto prayers (Def. xii capp. adv. Theod. p. 234 a b)." And in his earlier work, the Thesaurus, "By His own death the Saviour annulled death. As then death had not been annulled, except He had died, so in regard to each passion of the flesh. For except He had feared, our nature had not become free from fearing; except He had sorrowed, it had never

been rid of sorrowing: except He had been troubled and dismayed, it would never have been in case external to these. And in each several thing that befalls humanly, applying the same reasoning, you will find that the passions of the flesh had motions in Christ, not in order that they should prevail as in us, but in order that when moved, they should be annulled by the might of the Word which indwelt the flesh, the nature being transformed to the better." *Thes. cap. 24. p. 233 d e.* "Seest thou that what *τινὸς* deemest to be Christ's weaknesses is thy might? . . . Those tears wash us, that weeping cleanses us." S. Ambrose *de fide*, ii. 95. t. ii. 489.

^o *λιταῖς ταῖς ἐκτενεστάταις.* The Greek Liturgy has a collect beginning, "O Lord our God, receive this intense supplication (*τὴν ἐκτενῆ ταύτην ἰκεσίαν*) at the hands of Thy servants."

^p *ἀκηδιῶντος*, cf. Liddell and Scott on the substantive *ἀκηδία*, "*torpor* from grief or exhaustion."

CHRIST onslaught of the trial as not to be borne, as intolerable, or how?

B. Of one who is distraught (as appears) out of human faint-heartedness: since to the disciples too He said, *Exceeding sorrowful is My Soul unto death*, and fell down before the Father Himself saying, *Father, if it be possible, let this Cup pass from Me, yet not as I will but as THOU*.

A. And verily this is nothing else than what we said just now, *Who in the days of His flesh having offered both supplications and entreaties to Him Who could save Him from death with a mighty cry and tears*. If any think that Christ had come down to this point of faint-heartedness and that He was *sorrowful and very heavy*, holding it intolerable to suffer, overcome with fear and mastered by weakness, he clearly accuses Him of not being God, and shews that to no purpose, as it seems, did He rebuke Peter.

B. How do you say?

A. For Christ said, *See we are going up to Jerusalem and the Son of man will be betrayed into the hands of sinners, and they shall mock Him and crucify Him, and the third day He shall rise*. He being pious⁷, says, [*God be*] *propitious to Thee, Lord, this shall not be to Thee*. And what said Christ to him? *Get thee behind Me satan, thou art an offence to Me, because thou dost not think the things of God but the things of men*. And yet how did the disciple miss of what is fitting, in wanting the trial to be taken away from his Master, if it were insufferable to Him and by no means tolerable but rather lowering unto impotence and apt to shiver in pieces Him Who charged His disciples to be stout against the fear of death and to count suffering nothing, so that the good-pleasure of God should be accomplished by them?

And I wonder that they, saying that he has been connected with the Only-Begotten, and declaring him partaker of the Divine dignities, subject him to the fear of death, that so he may be seen to be bare man as we are and to have gained nothing from the Divine Dignities.

S. Matth.
xxvi. 38.

Ib. 39.

Heb. v. 7.

S. Matth.
xxvi. 37.

Ib. xx.
18.

S. Mark
x. 34.

S. Matth.
xvi. 22.

7 φιλόθεος
Ib. 23.

B. What then is the plan of the Economy herein?

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A. Clearly mystical and deep and to be marvelled at by them who know aright the mystery of Christ. For view I pray, the words which beseeem the emptying and are not incongruous to the measures of the manhood, how they were uttered in due and needful season, that He Who is over all creation might be seen to have been made in every respect as we. Hereto will follow again this also.

B. What?

A. Seeing that we have been made accursed because of the transgression in Adam and forsaken of God have fallen under the snare of death, and that *all things have been made new in Christ*, and a return of our condition to what it was in the beginning [has taken place]; need was it that *the second Adam* which is *out of Heaven*, He Who is superior to all sin, the All-holy and Undeiled second first-fruits of our race, Christ, should free from sentence⁸ the nature of men and call again upon it the good favour that is from above and from the Father and undo the forsaking⁹ through His Obedience and entire subjection. For *He did no sin*, and the race of man in Him has gained the riches of spotlessness and entire blamelessness, so that it at length may with boldness cry out, *My God my God why forsookest Thou me?*

2 Cor. v. 17.

1 Cor. xv. 45.

8 δίκης

S. Matth. xxvii. 46.

For consider that the Only-Begotten having been made man, gave forth such words as one of us and in behalf of our whole nature, as though He said¹, The first man hath

^a τὴν ἐγκατάλειψιν, the withdrawal of the Spirit from our race, as God said, *My Spirit shall not always strive with man*. Although the Holy Ghost was still given to individuals as God willed, yet the "forsaking" was undone in the great Pentecostal outpour. S. Cyril elsewhere says, "As one therefore of the forsaken, in that He too like us partook of blood and flesh, He says, *Why forsookest Thou Me?* which was [the utterance] of one who was undoing the forsaking that had come upon us and as it were winning the Father to Himself and calling Him to good favour to us as to Himself first." De recta fide to the Emperresses Pulcheria and Eudocia § 12 fin. p. 141 a.

¹ "Wherefore of necessity when He was in a body suffering and weeping and toiling, these things which are proper to the flesh are ascribed to Him together with the body. If then He wept and was troubled, it was not the Word considered as the Word (ὁ Λόγος) Who wept and was troubled but it was proper to the flesh; and if too He besought that the cup might pass away, it was not the Godhead that was in terror but this affection too was proper to the manhood. And that the words, *Why hast Thou forsaken Me*, are His according to the foregoing explanations, though He suffered nothing (for the Word was impassible), is notwithstanding declared by the Evangelists; since the Lord became man and

CHRIST transgressed, he slipped down into disobedience, he heeded not the command given him, by the wiles of the dragon he was carried off into wilfulness: therefore full rightly has he been subjected unto decay and has become subject to doom, but Thou didst plant Me a second beginning to them on the earth, I am called, *Second Adam*. In Me Thou seest the race of man purged, achieving sinlessness, holy, all-pure. Give now the good things of Thy Clemency, undo the forsaking, rebuke decay and let wrath reach its period. I have conquered Satan himself too who of old prevailed, for he found in Me no whit of what was his.

Such then, as I think, is the meaning of the Saviour's words; for He was inviting the good favour of the Father not on Himself but on us rather. For as the [fruits] of wrath passed through as from the first root, I mean Adam, unto the whole nature of man (for *death hath reigned from Adam unto Moses over them too which sinned not after the likeness of Adam's transgression*): thus too will the [fruits] from our second first-fruits, Christ, pass through unto the whole human race. And the all-wise Paul will be our war-rant, saying, *For if by the transgression of one man the many died, much more by the righteousness of the One shall the many live, and again, For as in Adam all die so too in Christ shall all be quickened.*

Rom. v. 14.
Ib. 15.
1 Cor. xv. 22.

B. Unwise therefore and utterly incongruous to the holy Scriptures is it both to deem and to say that the man assumed used human expressions as forsaken by the Word which was connected with him.

A. Blasphemy, my friend, and a proof of the uttermost

these things are done and said as from a man, that He might Himself lighten these very sufferings of the flesh and free it from them. Whence neither can the Lord be forsaken by the Father Who is ever in the Father, both before He spoke and when He uttered these words. . . . For behold when He says, *Why hast Thou forsaken Me*, the Father shewed that He was ever and even then in Him; for the earth knowing its Lord Who spoke, straightway trembled and the

veil was rent, and the sun was hidden, and the rocks were torn asunder, and the graves, as I have said, did gape and the dead in them arose." S. Athan. against Arians iii. 56 pp. 478, 479 O.T. "When then He is said to hunger and weep and weary, and to cry Eloi, Eloi, which are our human affections, He receives them from us and offers to the Father, interceding for us that in Him they may be annulled." S. Ath. against Arians, iv. 6 p. 520 O.T. See too note q.

stupefaction, and that full clear, will this be, yet is it not incongruous to those who understand not to think aright. For since they sever and divide utterly both words and facts and have allotted the one to the Only-Begotten alone and by Himself, the other as it were to a son other than He and from a woman, therefore have they missed of the straight and most unerring way and of clearly knowing the mystery of Christ.

B. We must not then divide either words or facts, when the Gospel and Apostolic preachings are brought forward?

A. By no means, as far as pertains to two persons and hypostases⁹ severed from one another and diverging altogether apart and separately: for in that there is One Son, the Word made Man for our sakes, I would say that all are His, both words and facts, both the God-befitting and besides the human.

B. Hence even if He be said to be weary from the journey^s, to be hungry and to share in sleep: will it be fit (tell me) to allot to God the Word things thus mean and abased?

A. The Word still bare¹ and not yet Incarnate and ere He descended unto the emptying, it will by no means befit (for you deem aright), but to Him made man and emptied what hurt can this inflict on Him? for as we say that His flesh was made His own^t, so again His are the weaknesses of the flesh through the Economic appropriation of them and after the mode of the emptying, for *He was made like in all things to His brethren*, without sin alone. And marvel not that we say that He has made the weaknesses

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chapter 4.

⁹ πρόσωπα
δύο καὶ
ὑποστά-
σεις δύο

S. John
iv. 6.

¹ γυμνῷ
p. 288
note m.

Heb. ii.
17.

^s "We know, brethren, that One and the Same is He Who through the holy Virgin, Mary Mother of God, was born, Perfect God and Perfect Man, ensouled, rational. Therefore do we both say that the holy Virgin is Mother of God and that God the Word indwelt her, not in semblance but in operation; the Same when two-months old and three-months old, [do we confess] Son of God alike and Son of man. Yea and the words both of the human nature and those uttered in God-befitting authority which the Divine Scriptures recount to us of Him, we say are gathered into One Person. For we know that the Same is He Who sleeps on the pillow, the Same He Who with au-

thority rebukes the sea and the winds: the Same Who was wearied with the journey, the Same Who walked on the sea as on solid ground by His own Power; the Same therefore God, the Same man undoubtedly." From a short sermon printed after the Scholia, t. v. i. pp. 801, 802 Aub. See too from S. Gregory Nyssa, "Human poverty doth not feed the thousands nor doth Almighty power run to the fig tree," in Dr. Newman's translation of S. Athanasius against Arians, p. 479 O.T. note b.

^t See above pp. 8, 142, 194, 249, 251, 261, and 3 Ecumenical Epistles, pp. 57, 64 and note d.

CHRIST of the flesh His own along with the flesh : whence to Himself again hath He allotted the contumelies too from without, which were put upon Him by the frowardness of the Jews, saying through the voice of the Psalmist, *They parted My garments among themselves and upon My vesture they cast the lot*, and again, *All that see Me sneered at Me, they spake with their lips, they wagged the head.*

S. John xiv. 9. B. Hence though He say for example, *He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father, I and the Father are One*, and to Ib. x. 30. the Jews, *Why are ye seeking to kill Me, a man Who have told you the truth which I heard of God*, shall we allow that Ib. viii. 40. the words both one and other belong to One and the Same ?

A. Most certainly, for Christ has never been divided, but is believed to be One and Only and Very Son by all who Col. i. 15. worship Him. For *the Image of the Invisible God*, the Brightness of the glory of the Person of the Father, the Impress of His Essence, took bondman's form, not as though connecting a man to Himself, as they say, but rather Himself made in that form, yet even so abiding in likeness to God the Father. And the all-wise Paul hath written, *For it is God Who said that the light should shine forth of darkness, Who shone in our hearts unto the illumining of the knowledge of His glory in the Face of Christ Jesus.* For view how it is *in the Person of Christ*^u that the illumining^v of the Divine and Ineffable glory of God the Father shines forth : for the Only-Begotten albeit made man shews in Himself the glory of the Father, for This Alone and none other is conceived of and called Christ^x. Else let our opponents teach us how one can behold in a mere man *the illumining or the knowledge of the Divine glory* ? for not in the form of man shall we see God : yet in the Word Alone Which has been made as we and made Man and hath even

^u ἐν προσώπῳ χριστοῦ, *in the face (or in the person, as 2 Cor. ii. 10) of Christ.* Compare, *See I have accepted thy face*, in the Old Testament.

^v "Lo clearly and evidently *the illumining of the knowledge of God the Father shone forth in the Face [or Person] of Christ.* Wherefore He also said, *He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father, I and the Father are One.*" De recta fide to the Emperor Theodosius 30 a,

and (in its later form) Dial. ad Herm. Book 7, p. 702 d.

^x "Christ is no single term, but in that name which is one, is the signification of both, of Godhead and of manhood. Wherefore Christ is called man and Christ is called God and Christ is both God and man and Christ is One." S. Athanasius against Apollinarius, i. 13, t. i. 932 f.

thus remained by Nature and truly Son, might one in wondrous wise see this too, in that He is conceived of as God. And verily the steward of His Mysteries, having called Him Christ Jesus as having been made as we and Incarnate, knows that He is so together with being God by Nature and in truth: for he writes after this wise, *More boldly in part I have written to you, as reminding you because of the grace given me by God that I should be a minister of Christ Jesus, ministering the Gospel of God^y*, Zacharias too prophesieth to his own child, I mean the Baptist, *And thou, little one, shalt be called the prophet of the Most High, for thou shalt go before the face of the Lord to prepare a people for Him: and the Divine Baptist pointed out the Most High and Lord saying, See the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world: This is He of Whom I said, After me cometh a Man who has been made before me because He was prior to me.* Is it then lawful to doubt that One and Only and Truly Son is the Word forth of God the Father together with the flesh united to Him and that not without soul, as some say, but ensouled with reasonable soul and in all respects One Person² with it³?

IS ONE

Rom. xv.
15, 16.

S. Luke
i. 76.

Ib. 17.

S. John i.
29, 30.

² πρόσω-
πον

³ αὐτῇ ἰ. ε.
the flesh

Eph. iv.
5.

S. Luke
ii. 52.

B. I would not doubt it in the least, for *One Lord, One faith, One Baptism.* But if Jesus be said to *advance in stature and wisdom and grace*, who is it that has been made in these? for the Word Who is forth of God the Father being full and Perfect in Himself⁴, what and whereunto will He take accession or advance? being Himself Wisdom, He will not be said to be recipient of wisdom^z. We must enquire then, they say, to whom these things belong.

⁴ αὐτο-
τελής

A. We must then (it is like) bring in another son and lord, because some cannot reach the depth of the holy Scriptures. The wise Evangelist therefore, having first brought in that *The Word has been made flesh*, sets Him forth Economically

^y "They who are entrusted with the priesthood minister to God alone, for priests stand not before men. See therefore the Divine Paul says that grace has been given him of God, to be a minister of Christ Jesus, and to minister among the Gentiles the Gospel of Christ. Christ therefore is God, if preaching

Christ to the Gentiles, he says that he ministers to them *God's Gospel*, that they may be accepted as sanctified in the Spirit." De recta fide to the princesses Arcadia and Marina, p. 60 a.

^z The syriac translation adds, "Who is the Giver of wisdom to them who are recipient of wisdom."

CHRIST
comp.p.8.

charging His own flesh to proceed by the paths of its own nature ; and it belongs to human nature to advance in stature and wisdom, I may say in grace also, in that the understanding too that is in each springs upward conjointly with the measures of the body : for it is one in babes, other again in those that are now children and upwards. For it were not impossible or impracticable to the Word from forth of the Father as God, to rear on high even from the very swaddling-clothes the body which was united to Him and to bring it up to the measure of perfect stature ; I will say too that to shew forth admirable wisdom even in His baby-state would have been both easy and without obstacle ⁵ to Him, yet would it have savoured of wonder-working and been incongruous to the plan of the Economy ; for the Mystery was performed noiselessly. He permitted therefore economically the measures of human nature to prevail in His own case, for this too will have been arranged in the meet order of the likeness to usward, whose advance is by little and little to what is greater, as the season calls us to accession of stature and of understanding not out of harmony therewith.

⁵ ἐυήλα-
τον, used
of good,
easy rid-
ing
ground.

see p. 114
and note h

All-Perfect therefore, and un-lacking of ought whatever, and too of increase, is the Word from forth the Father as God : yet makes He His own what is ours seeing He has been made as we : yet we know that He is even so above us as God. And verily Paul dares, albeit knowing that He has been made flesh, looking at the Excellences of the Godhead, in places to say that He is not even man :

Gal. i. 1. he writes to them of Galatia, *Paul an apostle not from men nor through man but through Jesus Christ*, and elsewhere
Ib. 11, 12. *too, I declare to you the Gospel which was gospelled by me that it is not after man, for neither did I receive it from man nor was I taught it, but through revelation of Jesus Christ.*

B. We must therefore adapt to Him both the being said to progress in wisdom and stature and grace, just as [we do] the hungering and being weary and the like : and perhaps even if He be said to suffer and to have been

quickened by the Father, we shall allot to Him these is ONE things too.

A. Yes, for we say that His are the human by an Economic appropriation ⁶, and along with the flesh that which ⁶ *οικει-ωσιν* is its: seeing that no other son beside Him is conceived of by us, but *the Lord Himself hath saved us*, giving His own Blood a ransom for the life of all; for we *were bought with a price, not with things corruptible silver or gold but with the Precious Blood as of a Lamb Immaculate and without blemish, Christ, Who offered Himself in our behalf for an odour of a sweet smell to God the Father.* And hereto will be our warrant Paul most learned in the law, who hath written, *Be therefore imitators of God as beloved children, and walk in love as Christ too loved us and delivered Himself for us an offering and sacrifice to God for an odour of a sweet smell.* But since Christ hath been made a *sweet smell for us* shewing in Himself the nature of man in possession of sinlessness, we have had confidence ⁷ through Him and in Him with God the Father Which is in Heaven: for it is written, *Having therefore, brethren, boldness to enter into the holy in the blood of Christ, which He inaugurated for us, a new and living way through the veil, that is, through His flesh.* Understand therefore how he says that His is the Blood and His the flesh, which he also calls *the veil* and with good reason, in order that whatever in the temple the sacred veil used to effect, concealing full well the holy of holies, somewhat of the same might the flesh too of the Lord be conceived of as doing, not permitting the marvellous and choice Excellence and glory of God the Word to it united, to be seen by any bare so to say and unhidden. And verily some imagined that Christ was *Elias* or *one of the Prophets*, but the Jews, not a whit understanding the mystery respecting Him, railing said, *Is not this the carpenter's son* ^a? how saith He now, *I have come down from heaven?* for invisible by Nature is the Godhead, yet was He seen of those on earth in likeness with us Who in His own Nature is not visible, and the Lord God appeared to

Isa. lxiii.
9 LXX.
1 Cor. vi.
20.
1 S. Pet.
i. 18, 19.

Eph. v.
1, 2.

⁷ *or, boldness*

Heb. x.
19, 20.

S. Matth.
xvi. 14.

Ib. xiii.
55.
S. John
vi. 42.

^a For the carpenter's son, the Syriac Translation gives, *Jesus the carpenter's son.*

CHRIST us. And this I think the Divine David teaches saying,
 Ps. l. 3. *God shall come manifestly, our God, and shall not be passed*
 LXX *over in silence.*

chapter 12 B. You think aright, but *they* maintain that these things
 above are not so, far from it. For in no wise do they choose to
 p. 255. attribute the suffering on the cross to the Word Who
 sprang from God, but they say that He prepared the man
 who was connected with Him in equal honour, to undergo
 the contumelies of the Jews and the sufferings on the cross,
 yea and death itself and that he became the captain of our
 salvation, in the might of the Word Who was co-with him
 coming back to life and doing to nought the power of
 death.

A. Will they then be able out of the Holy Scriptures to
 prove to us that their account hereof is true? or do they
⁸ *καينو-τομοῦσι* innovate⁸ the Faith, *uttering things out of their heart and*
 Jer. xxiii. 6. *not out of the mouth of the Lord*, as it is written, or haply
 Gal. vi. 14. *unable to say, God forbid that I should glory save in the*
cross of Christ through which the world hath been crucified
to me and I to the world?

B. Yea, they say, for the all-wise Paul confirms us here-
 Heb. ii. 10. to having written thus, *For it became Him because of Whom*
all things and through Whom all things, bringing many sons
to glory, to perfect through sufferings the Captain of their
salvation. For He (they say) in Whom are all things and
 through^b Whom all things will be none other than the
 Word Which sprang from forth of God. He therefore
 perfected through sufferings the captain of our salvation,
 i. e. him from forth the seed of David.

A. We have therefore been redeemed by God no more
 (for how or whence could we?) but by another's blood, and
 some counterfeit man and falsely-called son hath died for
 us, and the august and mighty mystery of the Only-Begot-
 ten was then idle talk and quackery, and neither hath He
 been made man, but we will register as our saviour and re-
 deemer, not Him but that other rather, who hath given his
 own blood for us. Yet the most holy Paul hath written to

^b The Syriac translation transposes *in* and *through*.

some, *It was therefore necessary that the patterns of the things in the heavens should be purified with these, but the heavenly things themselves with better sacrifices than these; for not into sanctuaries made with hands, figures of the true, entered Christ, but into Heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us, nor that oftentimes He should offer Himself as the High Priest entereth into the sanctuary yearly with another's blood, since He must needs often have suffered from the foundation of the world; but now once in the completion of the ages hath He been manifested for the abolition of sin through His sacrifice. Hence the type hath, that certain make their entry with another's blood⁹ and are cleansed:* ^{9 ἐν αἵματι τοῦ ἁλλο- τριῷ} *the reality, i. e. the Truth, will surely possess what is better, i. e., that Jesus does this, entering with His own blood, not into any temporary tabernacle and made with hands, as it were in shadow and type, but into that which is above and true, into Heaven: for it was necessary that the patterns of the things in the heavens should be purified with these (i. e. with the typical and another's¹) but the heavenly things themselves with better sacrifices than these.* ^{1 ἁλλο- τριῷ}

We must therefore necessarily seek for in Christ what is superior to the types, I mean the truth, which is in His own Blood.

B. You say right.

A. But since they set up against us the Apostle's saying, as though it were put forth of a common man, come let us say, taking from the beginning of what is written unto a sufficient close of it. It is written therefore, *But we behold* ^{Ib. ii. 9.} *Jesus Who has been some little abased below the angels because of the suffering of death crowned with glory and honour: for it beseemed Him because of Whom all things and* ^{Ib. 10—17.} *through Whom all things, bringing many sons to glory, to perfect the Captain of their salvation through sufferings: for the Sanctifier and the sanctified are out of one, all of them, for which cause He is not ashamed to call them brothers saying, I will declare Thy Name to My brothers, and again, Behold I and the children which God gave Me. Since therefore the children have partaken of blood and flesh, He too likewise*

CHRIST *shared the same, in order that through death He might do to nought him that hath the power of death, i.e., the devil, and might rid those who in fear of death through all their life were subject to bondage: for not I suppose of angels taketh He hold but of Abraham's seed He taketh hold, whence He ought in all things to be likened to His brothers. See, see and that most clearly, saying that He has been abased below the Angels because of the suffering of death, yet has been crowned therefore with honour and glory, he makes evident Who it is of Whom he is discoursing, the Only-Begotten: for he says that He has partaken of blood and flesh like us, and that He took hold not of angels but of Abraham's seed. For it beseemed God the Father because of Whom all things and through Whom all things, to perfect the Son Who had descended to emptying and become man, having taken bondman's form, through sufferings^c in that He consecrates His own flesh a Ransom for the life of all. For Christ hath been sacrificed for us, the spotless Victim, and by One offering hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified, re-forming man's nature into what it was in the beginning: for all things in Him are new.*

Heb. x.
14.

2 Cor. v.
17.

Rom. viii.
32.

above p.
157 note
b.

above p.
174 note
q.

2 Cor. v.
21.

above p.
244.

For that God the Father hath given His own Son for us, no less will the all-wise Paul be our warrant, writing of Him, *Who spared not His own Son, but gave Him up for us all, how will He not with Him too bestow on us all things?* and we say that the *own Son* of God is the Word Who beamed forth of His Essence, and that He has been given for us, not still bare and without flesh but when He was made flesh. And His being said to suffer is free from any blame, for He suffered not in the nature of the Godhead but in His own flesh: for God the Father as I said above, *made Him Who knew not sin sin for us, in order that WE might be made the righteousness of God with^d Him.*

B. Do we therefore conceive that He was made sin, or

^c The Syriac translation adds, *Who needed not to be perfected*, apparently a mere gloss of the translator, to guard the language.

^d *with* seems a mistake of the manuscript for *in*, which the manuscript gives when quoting the passage again just below.

rather because He was made like to them who are under IS ONE sin, is He therefore said to be sin?

A. You say right: as therefore *He made Him Who knew* Ib. *not sin sin for us in order that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him* (for the nature of man has been justified in Him): so Him Who knows not death (for the Word is Life and lifegiving) He caused to suffer in the flesh, though He remained external to suffering in that He is conceived of as God, in order that *we* might live through Him and in Him. Hence also the suffering of Christ has been named, 'the likeness of death.' It is written therefore, *For if we have been co-planted in the likeness of His* Rom. vi. 5. *death so shall we be too of His resurrection*: for the Word was living, even while His holy flesh was tasting death in order that, death worsted and decay trodden down, the might of the resurrection might come unto the whole human race. For it is true, that *as in Adam all die so too in Christ all* 1 Cor. xv. 22. *shall be quickened*. Since, how do we say that the Mystery of the Economy with flesh of the Only-Begotten aided man's nature, unless the Word being God has been made flesh? unless He Who is above all the creation lowered Himself unto emptying and hath come down to be in our estate? unless that have been made the body of Life which is subject to decay in order that it might become superior to death and decay?

B. We say therefore that the Word which is forth of God the Father Himself suffered in the flesh for us?

A. Surely, if Paul is true in saying of Him, *Who is the* Col. i. 15—18. *Image of the Invisible God, the firstborn of all creation, because in Him were created all things, visible and invisible, whether thrones or lordships or governments or authorities; all things have been created through Him and unto Him: and He is before all things, and all things consist in Him, and He is the Head of the Body, the Church, Who is the beginning, the first-born from the dead, in order that He may become in all pre-eminent*. For see, see, he says and that full clearly, that *the Image of the Invisible God, the first-born of all creation, both visible and invisible, through Whom all*

CHRIST things and in Whom all things, has been given a *Head* to the Church, and that He is *First-born from the dead* too. For He makes His own, as I said, the properties of His own flesh, and *endured the cross, despising the shame*. For we do not say that a man simply, honoured (I know not how) by connection with Him, has been given for us, but it is the Lord of glory Himself Which was crucified for us (for had they known, he says, they would not have crucified the Lord of Glory) : but He hath suffered for our sake and in our behalf in the flesh, according to the Scriptures, Who according to the flesh is of the Jews, Who is *over all God and blessed for ever Amen*. For thus hath the most holy Paul written, His *herald and apostle* and who hath Christ in him.

And tell me this besides, how they would understand what has been said by Christ to the woman out of Samaria, YE worship ye know not what, WE worship what we know, for salvation is from forth the Jews? albeit there hath saved us, not elder, not angel, but the Lord Himself, not with another's death and the mediation of a mere man but, with His own Blood. Hence, with good reason, said the all-wise Paul, One who disregards Moses' law dieth without compassion at the hands of two or three witnesses : of how much worsè punishment, suppose ye, shall he be accounted worthy who trampled on the Son of God and accounted common the blood of the covenant and insulted the Spirit of grace in Whom he was sanctified^e? But if it be not the precious Blood of the in truth Son Incarnate but of some spurious one other than he and one that possesses the sonship of favour, how do they say that it is not *common*?

Therefore even though He be said to have suffered in the flesh, freedom from suffering even thus is kept to Him^f in that He is conceived of as God. Therefore the

^e The Codex Alexandrinus omits the words, *wherein he was sanctified*; S. Cyril transposes them thus, both here and in his treatise, *de recta fide* to the Princesses Arcadia and Marina, p. 74 a.

^f See Schol. § 36, above p. 228, and § 37, *patiebatur impassibiliter, He suffered without suffering*, above p. 232 : and

Theodore's Letter to the Monks of Constantinople, "that which is passible hath suffered and the impassible (τὸ ἀπαθὲς) hath remained impassible. For God the Word was made man, not in order that He should make passible the Impassible Nature, but in order that through suffering He might bestow on

Divine Peter too says that *Christ once for our sins* died for us, *the Righteous for the unrighteous, in order that He might bring us to God, put to death in the flesh, quickened in the Spirit.* For why, might one I suppose say, did the Spirit-clad say not simply or indefinitely that He suffered, but added, *in the flesh?* for he knew, he knew that of God was he speaking. Therefore he hath allotted to Him impassibility in that He is conceived of as God, most skilfully adding, *in the flesh*, in respect to which suffering exists.

B. Yet they say that it savours of the marvellous² and inclines much to the incredible, that we should have to say that the Same both suffers and does not suffer³. For either surely He hath as God not suffered or if He is said to have suffered, how will He be God? hence he who suffered will be said to be only he which is from forth the seed of David.

A. Yet how will it not be a most manifest proof of a feeble understanding, to choose so to say and to think? for God the Father hath given for us, not a common man, taken aside to be in the rank of a mediator, and having a made-up³ glory of sonship and honoured with an accidental⁴ connection, but, made in likeness with us for our sakes, Him Who is above the whole creation, the Word Which beamed forth of His Essence, in order that He might be seen an equivalent⁵ for the life of all. It is (I deem) of all things most absurd, when the Only-Begotten has been made flesh according to the Scriptures (as I said) and disdained not the Economy, to find fault as it were with Him as though He had militated against His own glory and had chosen to suffer in the flesh apart from what was fit. Yet, good sir, the matter was salvation to the whole world: and since He for this cause willed to suffer Who is beyond the power of suffering because He is God by

IS ONE
1 S. Pet.
iii. 18.

² τερατο-
λογία

³ κατά-
πλαστον
⁴ σχητικῇ

⁵ ἀντάξιον

above pp.
86, 126,
166, 239.

above p.
202.

the possible nature freedom from suffering." Ep. 145 p. 1250 fin.

² See last note. S. Cyril in his *Treatise de recta fide* to the Emperresses Pulcheria and Eudocia, § 26 fin., p. 163 d e, says, "Hence is Christ neither bare man nor fleshless Word; but united to our human nature, unsufferingly He will suffer (πάθει ἂν ἀπαθῶς) what belongs to the human nature in His own flesh."

"Hence it is He Who suffered and did not suffer; in His Divine Nature Unsuffering, without change or turning, in His flesh suffering, as Peter says." S. Ath. against Apollinarius, lib. i. 11, t. i. 931 b. "For it was God Who was set at nought, of God's flesh and soul was the suffering and the death and the resurrection." lib. ii. 16, t. i. 953 a. See too next note and below p. 316.

CHRIST Nature, He put about Him flesh recipient of suffering and made it His own, that His too might the suffering be called, because it was no one's else's but His own Body^h which hath suffered. Hence, for that the mode of the Economy gives Him without blame, both to be pleased to suffer in the flesh, and in the Godhead not to suffer (for He was God alike and Man in the Sameⁱ) the opponents speak idly, and most unwisely debasing the force of the mystery haply deem that they^j have made a contention^k replete with praise. For His being at all pleased to suffer in the flesh seemed to attach some blame to Him, yet it was glorious in another way: for the Resurrection has testified that He is superior to death and decay, being Life and Lifegiving as God, for He hath raised His own Temple. Therefore the Divine Paul says, *For I am not a-*

above p.
175.

Rom. i.
16.

^h "For not of any other man, but His, is the Body, wherefore Himself too has been accounted (for Christ is One) mingled (κεκρασμένος) as it were out of human nature and God the Word, not from having been turned into what He was not but from assuming the Temple from forth the Virgin." Thes. cap. 20 p. 197 a. "Christ died for our sakes and for us. As therefore when His Body died Himself is said to suffer this, albeit He is immortal in His Nature, so since His Body is created, Himself is said to have been created albeit Uncreate in Essence. For the Flesh being His and not another's, He makes all His own (ἰδιοποιεῖται) what befalls it." Ib. cap. 15 p. 167 b. These belong to an earlier period of S. Cyril's Archiepiscopate written while he could still follow the example of earlier Fathers in the expression *mingled as it were*. S. Cyril says much the same in cap. 24 p. 232 d given above p. 192 note i: cap. 28 p. 252 c.

In his 7th Paschal homily (A.D. 420), after saying, "Hence as also our all-famous Father and Bishop Athanasius, the unswerving rule of the orthodox Faith, said in his own writings, 'Of two things unlike in nature hath a concurrence taken place, to wit of Godhead and Manhood: for Christ is one out of Both,'" S. Cyril proceeds, "And unspeakable and utterly incomprehensible was the mode of the mingling." Pasch. Hom. pp 102 ff., 103. And further on, "They worship, not parting off Him Alone That indwelt from the screen of His flesh, but One Ineffably mingled

out of Both" etc. p. 104 d.

S. Cyril speaks of "as it were mingling the *properties* of the natures," in his Treatise de Inc. Unigeniti, p. 708 a (as above p. 144 note s), where he means that on account of the entirety of the Union, what belongs to the Godhead may be said of the manhood; e.g. he is speaking there on the words, *For the bread of God is He which comes down from Heaven and gives life to the world*, and says, "albeit how is it not true that the flesh hath not come down out of heaven, but was of a Virgin according to the Scriptures? And the Word is not eaten; but in countless expressions He is seen gathering both into One and mingling as it were one with another the properties of the natures;" he goes on to quote the words, *He that came down from heaven* (S. John iii. 13), and, *If ye shall see the son of man ascending up where He was before* (ib. vi. 62), although the human nature came not down from Heaven, nor was it there before. Towards the end of the treatise (p. 712 init.), S. Cyril speaks of S. John, "all-but gathering the natures and bringing into a concurrence [μίσγανκειαν, properly, the meeting of mountain-glens, henceforth to become one glen] the force of the *properties* befitting each." Of the mingling to express His intimate union with us, see above p. 250 note i.

ⁱ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ. Thus the Syriac version: the Greek MS. has ἐν αὐτῷ.

^k contention. I have ventured to translate from the Syriac, the Edition has *Union*, the sense of which is less clear.

shamed of the Gospel, for it is the power of God for salvation IS ONE
to every one that believeth, and again, For the word of the 1 Cor. i. 18.
cross is to them that perish folly, to us who are saved it is
the Power of God, to them that are called both Jews and Ib. 24.
Greeks, Christ God's Power and God's wisdom: and indeed
the Son too when about to ascend unto the saving Passion
says, Now is the Son of man glorified and God is glorified S. John xiii. 31, 32.
in Him, and God will glorify Him in Himself and will
straightway glorify Him. For He lived again, having
spoiled Hades and this not after a long while but as it
were straightway and on the very heels of the Passion.

B. Albeit the all-wise Paul says, Since¹ ye seek a proof 2 Cor. xiii. 3, 4.
of Christ speaking in me, Who is not weak but is mighty in
us: for verily He was crucified out of weakness yet lives out
of the power of God. Then how will one say that the
Word Himself is weak and moreover that He lives out of
the power of God?

A. Do we not over and over again say that the Word of
God was Incarnate and made man?

B. Yes, for how should it be otherwise?

A. Therefore He Who is weak in the flesh in that He
appeared as man, This lived out of the power of God, a
power not alien but inherent in Him, for He was God in
flesh.

B. And verily the Father is said to raise Him, for it is
written, According to the inworking of the mastery of His Eph. i. 19—21.
might which He hath inwrought^m in Christ, having raised
Him from the dead and set Him on His Right Hand in the

¹ The syriac translation has *If*, in place of *Since* given by the Manuscript in this place. *If* is also S. Cyril's reading elsewhere, and four passages of Origen are quoted for the same: there is a trace of the reading η in S. Cyril (in xii Proph. 10 c, hom. 2 on Hebrews among fragments, v. 431) and η and $\epsilon\iota$ are often convertible. Just below the syriac translation gives *is not weak in you but is mighty*, the Greek manuscript gives as here translated.

^m S. Cyril's chapter 7 is, "If any one say that Jesus as man has been in-wrought-in by God the Word and hath put on Him the glory of the Only-Begotten, as

though Another than He, be he anathema." Both Theodoret and Andrew in their reply, quote this text, Theodoret apparently overlooking the words, *as though Another than He*, Andrew agreeing with the Chapter, yet fearing that the words used by the Apostles of the human nature, should haply be overlooked. The word *in-wrought-in* ($\epsilon\nu\eta\rho\gamma\eta\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$) is the same that S. Paul uses when he says, *For He that wrought effectually* ($\epsilon\nu\epsilon\rho\gamma\eta\sigma\alpha\varsigma$) *in Peter to the apostleship of the circumcision, the Same was mighty* ($\epsilon\nu\eta\rho\gamma\eta\sigma\epsilon$) *in me toward the Gentiles* (Gal. ii. 8).

CHRIST *heavenly places above all rule and authority and lordship and every name that is named.*

A. Yet we say that He is the life-giving Power of the Father and it is like that He rejoices in the Dignities of Him Who begat Him even though He have been made flesh. And Himself will come in, His own witness, saying,
S. John v. 21. *For as the Father quickeneth whom He will, so the Son too quickeneth whom He will.* And able to accomplish this full well without toil, He hath addressed the people of the

Ib. ii. 19. Jews saying, *Undo this Temple and in three days I will rear it.* But He Who rose hath sat *on the Right Hand of the Father in the heavenly places above all rule and authority and throneⁿ and lordship and every name that is named.* Is it therefore as being another son than the Word Which sprang from forth Him, honoured with mere connection, and receiving the Name of Godhead as a favour; or rather He Who is by Nature and truly SON, *made in likeness of man and found in fashion as a man* economically?

B. They would perhaps say that it was the man from forth the seed of David connected with Him by equality of honour, to whom the suffering death too would belong.

A. But that which is said to be of equal honour with ought, will be not one in number (as I already said) but one with one; this is I suppose two and they unequal in nature, if the honoured is in lower case than the honourer: but since one son hath sat down, let them instruct us who it is that hath been honoured with the seats on high and co-sitteth with the Father, if it be a thing most exceeding perilous to venture to bring up to equality of honour the bond with the Lord, the made with the Creator, with the King of all that which is under the yoke, with Him Who is above all that which is ranked among all.

B. You will then clear this up to us still more.

A. Albeit as I suppose a clear and sufficient discourse has already been worked out by me on these subjects, I will without any backwardness add to what I said other things also, and taking up a not ignoble advocacy⁶ of the

⁶ συναγωγῆ-
πνευματικῆς

ⁿ The Syriac translation omits *Throne*.

Divine dogmas as a sort of full armour I will rear up the is ONE truth against them who think perverse things.

For that the Only-Begotten Word of God, no other son than He mediating the Economy and connected with Him accidentally, hath made void the mastery of death; but that He by His own Self hath done it, He will prove saying, *God so loved the world that He gave His Son the Only-* S. John iii. 16. *Begotten in order that every one who believeth on Him should not perish but have life everlasting.* When God the Father exalteth highly His Love for the world and says that it is exceeding great and vast, why do our opponents disparage above pp. 157, 300. it, saying that not the truly Son has been given for us, but bring up one of those who are as we, who has the grace of sonship from adoption, into the place of the Son by Nature, whereas it was the Only-Begotten Who was given for us? and whereas John hath clearly written, *The* Ib. i. 18. *Only-Begotten God which is in the Bosom of the Father*, how will not one marvel at them for their unlearning who thrust out the Only-Begotten God the Word from the Economy and bring in in His place (as I said) a certain one embellished with glories from without him and having the name of Godhead put upon him? and what great and worthy of admiration will there be any longer apparent in the Love of the Father if He hath given for it some piece of the world and that a small one? or perhaps it would be even unblameable to say that the world hath been redeemed, having nothing from God but, ministered to in this behalf by its own parts.

B. They say that the Only-Begotten has been given by the Father, that He should administer our affairs, not in order that He should suffer ought of what is human Himself in His own Nature, for it is impossible.

A. He will suffer in His own Nature nothing at all (for being unembodied as God He will full surely be external to suffering), but since according to His own voice, I mean that through the Psalmist's lyre, a body has been prepared Ps. xl. 6. LXX. for Him by the Father, He came, embodied, to do His Ib. 7, 8. Will. And this was the redemption through the Precious

CHRIST Cross and the summing up anew of all things, full well accomplished through Him and in Him. And the most excellent Paul will aid to what I said, having written on this wise, *Be ye thus minded each one of you as was also Christ Jesus Who being in the Form of God deemed not the being equal with God a thing to seize^o, yet emptied Himself taking bondman's form, made in likeness of men, and found in fashion as a man abased Himself, made obedient to death, yea the death of the cross : wherefore God also highly exalted Him and gave Him a Name which is above every name, in order that at the Name of Jesus Christ every knee should bow of heavenly and earthly and neath the earth and every tongue confess Lord Jesus Christ to the glory of God the Father. For whom dost thou say is He Who is in the Form of God the Father, and when He might have remained in Equality with Him deemed the so pre-eminent and God-befitting Dignity and the excellency above all to be not a thing to seize? is it not God the Word Who beamed forth from Him? how is this not obvious to all? But this He Who was in the Form and Equality of the Father, taking bondman's form, not by an accidental connection, made in likeness of men and found in fashion as a man (for He was together herewith God too) abased Himself and became obedient also unto death, yea the death of the cross.*

Phil. ii.
5—11.

B. But it is said (they say) of Him that God gave Him a Name which is above every name, in order that at the name of Jesus Christ every knee should bow. That which the Word was, i.e., God, how will He be conceived as taking? need therefore is it to say rather that to the assumed man has been given the Name which is above all, that we be not caught deeming ought incongruous respecting the Only-Begotten.

A. Then how were it not incomparably better to say that it has been given by the Father to the by Nature Son made man for our sakes, in order that He may be conceived of as God even in human nature and in supremest heights He Who endured abasement as we, in order that

^o See above p. 165, note j.

no new and late-appearing god may be introduced to both is ONE
angels and men, having the glory of the Godhead not essentially inexisting but come in from without and as it were at the mere Will of God the Father.

B. To the Word Himself therefore which sprang from forth God the Father do we say that *the Name which is above every name has been given.*

A. Full surely; and our argument will not err from its course, if it is not false that He *deemed the being Equal with God to be not a thing to seize*, but hath descended unto the not being in glory in that He appeared as man. Therefore He also said, *The Father is greater than I*, although He S. John
xiv. 28. had the right, in that He ever existeth in Him (as He is conceived of and is God) and hath been begotten from forth Him by Nature, to have exactness with Him in every thing and to rejoice in the glory of the Godhead. One must therefore not suppose that He Who for our sakes descended into the measure of the human nature, fell from His inherent Natural splendour and Excellence, but that in emptiness that belongs to us He has fullness Divinely and in abasement loftiness, and that which belongs to Him by Nature, to be worshipped by all, [He has] as a gift by reason of His human nature: for to Him boweth every knee of things both in Heaven and upon earth and every rank praiseth, for *Christ Jesus* is believed to be *Lord unto the glory of God the Father*. And verily He said to God the Father which is in Heaven, *Father glorify Me with the* Ib. xvii. *glory which I had with Thee before the world was.* Was ^{5.} then (tell me) the man prior to the world^p, whom they say has been assumed by the Only-Begotten by a non-essential connection?

B. By no means.

A. Who then is it who is asking for glory which He says was inexisting in Himself even before the very foundation of the world, He ever and continually being with God? is

^p see above, in this treatise, p. 273; also above p. 161, and the exegesis of this verse against Arian objections in the short chapter 30 of the Thesaurus, pp. 258 sq. S. Cyril speaks of its being to the Glory of God the Father that His Son is consubstantial with Him, above pp. 74, 75, 139. See too de recta fide to the Emperress § 33, p. 169 de, comment. on S. John, p. 674 O.T.

CHRIST it not God the Word Co-eternal with the Father, Co-throned and Co-existent with Him, of Whom the all-wise Evangelist John saith, *The Word was with God and the Word was God?*

S. John
i. 1.

B. How should it not be so?

S. Matth.
iv. 10.

A. As therefore being Lord of glory and then letting Himself down to the ill-repute of bondman's form, He asks for a recovery of His ever inherent glory, doing this too as becometh man: thus being always God He goes up from the measures of our estate to the excellence and glory of His Proper Godhead, in order that as to One Son henceforth by Nature and Very, albeit made as we and Incarnate, every knee should bow, as I just said. For I think that so minded and thus believing, we shall rid heaven and earth from the charge of worshipping a man. *For it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God and Him only shalt thou adore.*

B. The argument hereon will need very much support: proceed therefore I pray and elucidate the Mystery to us by means of other conceptions also.

1 Cor.
xv. 47.
S. John
vi. 38, 39.

A. I will then proceed very gladly, but I would say that they have missed the truth in coupling, as though another son, him who is of the seed of David with Him Who is by Nature and truly, I mean the Only-Begotten, albeit holy Writ clearly cries aloud, *The first man of earth earthy, the second^a out of Heaven*, and moreover the Son Himself, *I have come down from heaven not in order to do Mine Own Will but the Will of Him that sent Me, and this is the will of Him that sent Me that everything which He hath given Me I should not lose ought from it but should raise it at the last Day.* Whom then do they say is He Who hath come down out of Heaven? for the body hath been born of a woman.

B. The Word that is begotten from forth God the Father, for I suppose that they will not please to think anything else than this.

^a In this place both the Syriac translation and the Greek ms. omit *ὁ Κόριος*, but there is considerable variation in other places of S. Cyril: see Schol. § 4, above p. 189 and note there.

A. Right my friend, and the all-wise John too hath somewhere written, *He that cometh from above is above all*. Then how, when it pleaseth the Father that all which is given Him should rise, and the thing is good and moreover God-befitting (for to save is like God), does He say that He came down not to do His own will but that of the Father? will then any man among us suppose that the Son Who is born of Him comes behind the Clemency of God the Father and is in no wise good, but that raising up that which is given and ridding it of decay is a thing uncongenial to Him?

B. There is risk of it.

A. Yet we should with reason deem that since He is the genuine Offspring of a Good Father, He will be conceived of as Himself also Good, or Goodness itself. For *from the fruit the tree is known*^r, according to His own voice, and He will be True, saying *He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father, I and the Father are One*.

IS ONE
S. John
iii. 31.

S. Matth.
xii. 33.

S. John
xiv. 9.
Ib. x. 30.

B. You say well: clear up then yourself what seems to have been obscurely said.

A. We say that annulling death and driving away decay from men's bodies was a thing not unwilled by the Son, for *He delighteth not in the destruction of the living, and the generations of the world were healthful*, as it is written, *but by envy of the devil death entered into the world*. But in no other way was it possible to shake off the cheerless mastery of death save by only the Incarnation of the Only-Begotten. Therefore hath He appeared as we and He made His own a body subject to decay according to the inherent plan of its nature, in order that since Himself is Life (for He hath been begotten of the Father Which is Life) He might implant therein His Proper Good, life. And when He had once chosen out of His Clemency and Loving-kindness to undergo likeness with us, needs must the Passion too befall Him, when the impiety of the Jews was raging against Him. But the disrepute in His Passion

Wisd. i.
13, 14.
Ib. ii. 24.

^r See the verse explained in the same way of the Son's Generation from the FATHER, in S. Cyril's commentary on S. John, pp. 643, 644, 676 O.T.: and on xvii. 4, 5 p. 958 d, Greek.

CHRIST was burdensome to Him. And in truth when the time was coming on, wherein He had to endure the cross for the life of all, in order that He might shew that the Passion was not willed^s, He made His approach as befits man and in form of prayer, saying, *Father if it be possible let this cup pass from Me, yet not as I will but as THOU*. He says that He came down out of Heaven, to make that which was grievous, not unwilling, in order that He might achieve resurrection for then on the earth, which He Alone hath new-wrought for the race of man. For He has been made *First-born from forth the dead* according to the flesh and *first-fruits of them that are fallen asleep*.

S. Matth.
xxvi. 39.

B. His therefore and not another's will be said to be the Passion in that He hath appeared as man, even though He hath remained Impassible as He is conceived of as God.

A. Thus I say: call to mind the God-inspired Scripture which says, *The first man Adam was made a living soul, the last Adam a quickening spirit*.

1 Cor. xv.
45.

B. Do we then say that the Word from forth God, has been called *the last Adam*?

A. Not bare (as I said), but made in likeness with us. We say therefore that He is, if to quicken be no work of man but God-befitting. He has too the name of *the last Adam*, as made out of Adam according to the flesh and a second beginning of those on earth, the nature of man being transelemented in Him unto newness of life, life in holiness and incorruption through the resurrection from the dead: for thus was death done to nought, in that the Life by Nature endureth not to submit its own body to decay, *because it was not possible that Christ should be holden of it*, according to the voice of the most wise Paul^t, and thus passed through unto us too the good from this achievement.

above, p.
291.

Acts ii.
24.

^s On the Passion being willed and not willed by the Incarnate Son, see above pp. 170 sqq: see especially that very famous chapter of S. Cyril's commentary on S. John, (pp. 383 sqq. O.T.) which was so largely quoted in Act. 10 of the sixth General Council holden at Constantinople A. D. 680: also in S.

Joan. lib. x. 1 (xiv. 30, 31) pp. 853 e 854 a b c, S. Cyril speaks of its being willed "out of reverence to the Father and love to Him (αἰδοῖ τῇ πρὸς τὸν γεννήτορα καὶ ἀγάπῃ τῇ πρὸς αὐτόν)."

^t The Greek manuscript has *Paul*, the Syriac translation *Peter*.

B. You say well.

IS ONE

A. Look now at this besides.

B. What do you mean?

A. Christ said somewhere to the holy Apostles, *Go dis-* S. Matth.
ciple all nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father xxviii. 19.
and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. We have therefore
been baptized into the Holy and Consubstantial Trinity,
Father Son and Holy Ghost. Is it not true what I say?

B. How should it not?

A. Do we not conceive of Him Who hath begotten as
Father, the Only-Begotten God the Word again begotten
from forth Him as Son?

B. Surely.

A. How then have we been baptized into His Death as
blessed Paul saith? for *as many* (he says) *of us as were* Rom. vi.
baptized into Christ were baptized into His death. Yet *One* 3.
Lord, one faith, one baptism: and we will not say that we Eph. iv.
5.
have been baptized into Him that is forth of the seed of
David as into another and several son: but since being by
Nature God He is conceived of as beyond suffering, and
was pleased to suffer in order that He might save those
who are subject to decay, *He was made like in all things*
unto them who are on earth and underwent birth after the
flesh from forth a woman and made (as I said) His own a
body capable of tasting death and living again, in order
that Himself abiding Impassible, He might be said to
suffer in His own flesh. For He it is Who hath saved *that* S. Matth.
which was lost. And verily He said in plain terms, *I am* xviii. 11.
S. John
the Good Shepherd, the Good Shepherd layeth down His Life x. 11.
for His sheep, and again, *No one taketh My life from Me but* Ib. 18.
I lay it down of Myself, I have authority to lay it down and
have authority to take it again. But it belongs not to one
of us nor to a common man to have *authority to lay down*
his life and to receive it back, but the Only-Begotten and
truly Son hath laid it down, and He took it back, placing
us outside of death's meshes.

And one may very easily see this outlined in the Mosaic
books too in shadow unto them of old: for the sacrifice of

CHRIST the sheep rescued from death and decay them of Israel and
 above pp. abashed the destroyer, but it was a type of Christ, for
 122, 123.
 1 Cor. v. *Christ our Passover was sacrificed for us*, in order that He
 7. might undo the cheerless mastery of death and might by
 Ib. vi. 19, His own Blood win all under heaven : for we were *bought*
 20.
 2 Cor. v, *with a Price* and are not our own, for *One died for all*, He
 15. He Whose worth surpasses all, *in order that they which live*
no longer live to themselves but to Him Who died for them
 Gal. ii. *and rose* ; Paul too will aid saying, *For I through the Law*
 19, 20. *died to the Law in order to live to God, I have been co-cruci-*
fied with Christ : no longer live I, but Christ liveth in me :
and what I now live in the flesh I live in faith of the Son of
God Who loved me and gave Himself for me. Christ's there-
 fore are we all and through Him have we been reconciled
 to the Father, Christ having suffered in the flesh for us, in
 order that He might manifest us cleansed. For it has
 Heb. xiii. been written, *Wherefore Jesus too, in order that He might*
 12. *cleans the people through His own blood suffered outside the*
 Col. i. 21, *gate*, and again, *And you who once were estranged and ene-*
 22. *mies in your understanding by wicked works, He hath now*
reconciled in the body of His flesh through death, to present
you holy and spotless before Him. Understand therefore
 how He says that it was His Proper Blood and His Proper
 Flesh which was given for us, in order that we should not
 say that it belonged to a son other than He, conceived of in-
 dividually and honoured with a bare connection and having
 an adventitious glory and non-essential excellence and, as a
 7 ἐπιβλη- cloak⁷ and sort of mask thrown over him, the name of
 μα, also sonship and of the Godhead that is over all things. For
 a patch
 S. John think, in no wise will it befit him to have to say, *I am the*
 xiv. 6. *truth* : for how is that true which is not as it is said to be,
 but is something bastard and falsely-called? But verily
 CHRIST is truth and over all as God : for the Word hath
 remained what it was even though it have been made flesh,
 in order that He Which is over all and hath been made
 among all by reason of the human nature may have pre-

served to Him the being above every thing and beyond the measures of the creation. IS ONE

B. But (he says) the being said to suffer will impress⁸ on God the Word much ill-repute and will besides perchance bring accusation upon our august mystery. 8 ἐναπομά-
ξεται,
stamp,
and so,
leave its
mark on

A. Yet *despising the shame* He chose to *suffer in the flesh* for our sakes according to the Scriptures: and I would account it a frailty of Jewish mind and a dread charge of Gentile infatuation, to think it right to be ashamed of the suffering on the cross. The Divine Paul writes, *Seeing that both Jews ask for signs and Greeks seek for wisdom, but we preach Christ^u Crucified, to the Jews an offence, to the Gentiles foolishness, but to them which are called, Jews and Greeks, Christ God's Power and God's wisdom, because the folly of God is wiser than men and the weakness of God is stronger than men.* Heb. xii.
2.
1 S. Pet.
iv. 1.
1 Cor. i.
22-25.

B. How? for I do not at all understand.

A. Does he not say that the Suffering on the cross was an offence to the Jews, foolishness to the Greeks? for the one said, when they saw Him hanging from the wood, wagging their blood-thirsty heads at Him, *If Thou art the Son of God, come down from the cross and we will believe Thee* (for they supposed that worsted by their might He was taken and suffered, for they were in error, supposing that He was not truly Son of God but looking to the flesh alone): and the Greeks able in no wise to understand the depth of the Mystery deem it folly that it should be said by us, that Christ died for the life of the world. Yet is this very thing that seemeth to be *folly, wiser than men*. For deep is the word and verily replete with the highest wisdom, that I mean in regard to Christ the Saviour of us all, and that which is thought to be *weakness* by the people of the Jews, *is stronger than men*. For the Only-Begotten Word of God hath saved us, putting on likeness to us in order that having suffered in the flesh and risen from the dead He might set forth our nature superior to death and decay. And that which has been achieved is beyond the reach of

S. Matt.
xxvii. 40.
Ib. 42.

^u The Syriac translation reads, *Jesus Christ*.

CHRIST our estate. Hence *stronger than men* is that which seemeth to have been wrought in infirmity as ours and as it were in suffering, and it affords proof of God-befitting power.

B. Then how will the Same (they say) suffer and not suffer * ?

A. By suffering in His own flesh and not in the Nature of Godhead. And wholly ineffable is the plan⁹ of these things and no mind can attain ideas so subtil and exalted : yet following reasonings which tend to right belief and viewing the plan of what is fit, we neither alienate Him from being said to suffer, lest we first say that the Birth too after the flesh is not His but another's, nor do we define that the things pertaining to the flesh have been wrought upon His Divine and Supremest Nature : but He will be conceived of (as I said) as suffering in His own flesh, albeit not suffering in His Godhead after some such mode as this. And every force of illustration is feeble and comes behind the truth, yet it sends into the mind a subtil imagination of the reality and as it were from what is before it, brings it up unto the height which is beyond the reach of words. For^γ as iron or other such matter in contact with the onset of fire gives it admission and travails with the flame : and if now it chance to be struck by ought, the matter [struck] admits of injury, but the nature of the fire is in nought damaged by that which strikes ; thus will you conceive in regard of the Son being said to suffer in the flesh, not to suffer in His Godhead. And petty (as I said) is the force of the illustration, but it bears nigh to the truth them who choose not to disbelieve the holy Scriptures.

B. You say well.

A. For if the flesh ineffably and above mind and reason united to Him were not made absolutely the Word's own, how will it be conceived of as life-giving ? For I *am* (He says) *the Living Bread Which came down from Heaven and giveth life to the world, if any one eat of this bread he shall*

see chap-
ter 11.
S. John
vi. 51, 53.

* See above pp. 302 sqq. and notes f, g, h.

^γ See Disc. iii against Arians, § 31 fin.

p. 411 O.T. note k, where this passage too is referred to.

live for ever, and the bread which I shall give is *My flesh* for IS ONE the life of the world. But if so be the flesh belong to a son other than He, appropriated to Him by a non-essential connection, and called by favour to equality of honour, how doth He name it His own, though He cannot lie? and how will another person's flesh too quicken the world, if it have not been made the own flesh of Life, i. e. of the Word which is forth of God the Father, of Whom the Divine John says, *And we know that the Son of God is come and He gave us* 1 S. John vi. 20. *understanding in order that we might know Him and we are in His Very Son^z Jesus Christ: this is the true God and Everlasting Life?*

B. But I suppose that they would say to this, that it had been clearly said by Him, *Verily verily I say to you, except* S. John vi. 53. *ye eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink His blood, ye have not life in you.* We therefore understand (they say) that the honoured body and blood are not those of God the Word but of the son of man which has been connected with Him.

A. Then wherever will they put the *mighty Mystery* of 1 Tim. iii. 16. *piety?* for destroyed is the emptying of God the Word, Who was in the *Form* and Equality of the Father and chose for our sakes to *take bondman's form* and be made in likeness of us, and to partake blood and flesh, and to make the economy of the Incarnation His largess to all under Heaven. For through it have been saved, the Father summing Eph. i. 10. up all things in Him^a, *both the things in Heaven and the things on earth*, as it is written. If therefore they say that not He is the Only-Begotten, Who says in God-befitting way and human wise alike, *And the bread which I will give* S. John vi. 51. *is My flesh for the life of the world*, but that some son of man other than He conceived of apart by himself hath saved us, it is not the *Lord Himself*, as it is written, but Isa. lxiii. 9. one from among ourselves: and the things which are sub-LXX.ject to decay are quickened henceforth, not through God Who is mighty to quicken, but by one of them who are

^z in order that we might———*Very Son*. Thus both the Greek manuscript and the syriac translation here. ^a see S. Iren. 1. 10. 1; 5. 20. 2, and 21. 1, pp. 33, 497. O.T.

CHRIST subject to decay, who received along with us life of favour : but if it is true that *the Word* has been *made flesh* according to the Scriptures and *appeared on earth and conversed with men*, having bondman's form as His own, He will be called also son of man ; and if some feel ashamed at this, they will be caught placing themselves under charge of unlearning. For in no other way was it possible that flesh should become life-giving, albeit of its own nature subjected to the need of decaying, except it have become the Proper flesh of the Word Which quickeneth all things ; for thus it inworks what is His, replete with His Life-giving Power. And no marvel. For if it is true that fire having intercourse with matter, renders it warm, though not warm of its own nature (for it puts into it full richly the operation of its inherent power) : how does not rather the Word being God put His own Life-giving Power and Operation into His Proper flesh, united to it and making it His own, without confusion, without turning and in mode as Himself knoweth ?

B. It is therefore necessary to confess that it hath entirely become (none other intervening) the Proper Body of the Word that is forth of the Father, though ensouled with reasonable soul.

A. Most certainly, if we define aright the unerring word of the faith and are lovers of the doctrines of the truth and track the faith of the holy Fathers, not borne aside from the right way nor letting go the King's path-way, carried off by the vain-speakings of some unto a debased mind, but rather built up on the very Foundation, i. e. Christ :
 1 Cor. iii. *for other foundation can no man lay than is laid*, as the in
 11.
 Ib. 10. truth wise master-builder and Priest of His Mysteries has written.

We believe therefore that One is the Son of God the Father and conceived of in One Person, our LORD JESUS CHRIST, begotten forth of God the Father Divinely as Word before every age and time : in the last times of the age the Same made according to the flesh from forth a woman :

and to Him we allot both the God-befitting and the human, IS ONE
and His we say was the birth after the flesh and the suffer-
ing upon the cross, for that He made His own the whole
that belonged to His Proper flesh^b, yet hath remained Im-
passible in the Nature of the Godhead. For thus to *Him* Phil. ii.
boweth every knee and every tongue shall confess that Jesus 10, 11.
Christ is Lord unto the glory of God the Father, Amen.

^b To note g on page 303 maybe added another striking passage from S. Athanasius taken from his celebrated Letter to Epictetus, Bishop of Corinth, the same Letter which John Archbishop of Antioch and his Bishops set so much store by. With it may be compared S. Cyril's kindred expression in his Scholia § 13 fin. above p. 202, "the suffering is said to be His, because His too is that which suffered and He was in the suffering Body, He unknowing to suffer." S. Athanasius says, "And it was marvellous that He it was Who suffered and did not suffer, suffered for that His own

Body suffered and He was in it while suffering, suffered not because the Word being God by Nature is Impassible. And He, the Unembodied, was in the suffering Body; the Body had within it the Impassible Word Which annulleth the weaknesses of His Body. And this He did and it happened thus, in order that Himself receiving ours and offering them in sacrifice might annul them, and clothing us now with what is His might cause the Apostle to say, *This decaying must put on incorruption and this mortal put on immortality.*" S. Ath. to Epictetus, § 6 t. i. 906.

THE SAME

CYRIL

FROM HIS TREATISE AGAINST DIODORE BISHOP OF TARSUS^a*of which the beginning is*

Nought shall be ranked before the Truth by them at least who love it and are well skilled in uttering what pertains to it.

1

His words from the treatises against Diodore and Theodore: the beginning of the Treatise.

NOTHING is valued before the Truth by them who love it and are skilful in speaking what pertains thereto: yet is it right (I say) that they who are thus minded and are zealous rightly to walk in the holy doctrines of the Church, should both guilelessly give heed to any who think and speak aright and not again, holden by reverence and love, commit themselves to those who write not without
 Isa. v. 20. *blame, in order that they be not blamed as calling evil good and good evil, sweet bitter and bitter sweet, and putting darkness for light, and light for darkness: but accomplishing*

^a Diodore, the "pupil (θρέμμα) of the blessed Silvanus" Bishop of Tarsus, the comrade of S. Flavian (afterward Bishop of Antioch) in toils for the Catholics of Antioch in their low estate through Arian oppression, visitor of S. Meletius Bishop of Antioch in his banishment in Armenia through these same Arians, teacher of S. Chrysostom, commentator on most of the Old and New Testament, present at the Second Council where he signed as Bishop of Tarsus, being then at the beginning of an Episcopate of about 13 years, and who died in the Unity of the Church, nevertheless fell into the error of so parting the two Natures in Christ as to speak of His Man-

hood as though it were a Man apart from the Son of God. S. Athanasius speaks as though he saw the germ of some such error; he says, "And He became man and did not come into man, for this it is necessary to know, lest perchance these irreligious men fall into this notion also, and beguile any into thinking that as in former times the Word was used to come into each of the Saints, so now He sojourned in a man, hallowing him also and manifesting Himself as in the others." against Arians, iii § 30 p. 442 O.T.

Of Diodore's writings little is preserved excepting some few citations in different writings of Severus. Even of S.

rather that which is consonant to the Divine law (for Diod. Judge, it says, righteous judgement), consonant too to the wise Zech. vii. 9. Paul, *Be ye wise bankers, prove all things* : may accept that 1 Thess. v. 21. which is excellent, and keep far from what is not so. For it is absurd that irrational animals, should be instructed by the laws of nature, to know well what is good for them and what is not so : so that they make their food of those things in the field which have no harm in them, and leave

Cyril's work these few fragments that survive seem almost entirely due to the Monophysite Controversy in the first half of the sixth century. The fragments are mainly preserved either by Severus of Antioch (chiefly in his work against John Grammaticus of Caesarea, but also in other works) and by John of Caesarea himself who appended a vast number of extracts of S. Cyril to his Apology for the Council of Chalcedon. Anastasius, referred to by the learned Cave, under *Severus* (Viae dux cap. 6 pp. 90, 92, ed. Ingolstadt, 1606) says of this John, "Then John of Caesarea Grammarian and very many more made defences for the synod (of Chalcedon) through truest extracts . . . Severus having looked into the compilations of the Caesarean and some others who compiled in behalf of the synod through very many extracts of Fathers and writers and demonstrations and proofs, first of all straightway wrote against John of Caesarea." Further on, Severus "laid down as a law to them [in Syria Egypt Alexandria and elsewhere] in the same book which is called Philalethes, that the Faith of Chalcedon frittered away 230 citations of holy Fathers in the defence which John of Caesarea made in its behalf." *ib.* p. 96. In the MSS of John's Defence which have supplied many of these passages against Diodore and Theodore, they are numbered 181—196. Cave likewise refers to extracts of Severus' work against the Grammarian in the Catena on Old Testament Canticles edited by Anton. Caraffa. John of Caesarea signs in the fifth general Council as "John by the mercy of God Bishop of Caesarea of Palestine." t. vi. 218 Colet. He had been Bishop but a short time when the Council was called in A.D. 553, and probably, as Severus was dethroned in A.D. 536, the controversy had taken place before John was Bishop, which will account for his being usually styled John of Caesarea. Leontius of Jerusalem however cites at least once, from the Book of the same

Severus against the Grammarian John Bishop of Caesarea. Apol. Conc. Chalc. in Gallandi, Bibl. Vett. Patrum xii. 736. The Lateran council similarly, *The same Severus against John of holy memory Bishop of Caesarea of Palestine.* Conc. vii. 324 Col. John of Caesarea's Defence of the Council of Chalcedon is extant in MS. in syriac (as Cardinal Mai tells us, in Cod. Vat. 140 written in the eighth Century), and in Greek in a late manuscript at Venice and at Cairo.

Of the character of Diodore's writings the learned Tillemont who appears most marvellously to have made himself acquainted with every extant writing of every Father, says "We cannot be judges of this great difficulty [whether Diodore's writings were heretical] because we no longer have his writings which would need to be examined with great care, not stopping at culled passages." t. 8. 568 ed. 2. S. Cyril however who had access to them says of him, "One Diodore, being once as they say, an opponent of the SPIRIT, communicated with the Church of the Orthodox. This man having put off, as he deemed, the spot of the Macedonian heresy, fell into another infirmity. For he deemed and wrote that one son by himself is he who is of the seed of David, born of the holy Virgin; another Son again by Himself the Word out of God the Father. But veiling the wolf under the sheep's fleece, he pretends to say One Christ, allotting the Name to the Word alone begotten out of God the Father, the Only-Begotten Son: and allotting it in the category of a grace, as himself says, he styles him too of the seed of David son, as united (he says) to the in truth Son: united, not as we hold, but only as regards dignity, sway and equality of honour. His disciple Nestorius became, and darkened by Diodore's books, feigns" &c. Ep. 1 to Succensus 135 d e. Tillemont thinks that what S. Cyril says of Diodore having been a Macedonian, is not to be pressed. t. 8. 566.

FR. AG. those which do harm; and that WE who have understanding and right reason (for nature is wise and has perfectly the power of well examining each thing) should not rightly and without error examine the force of things written or spoken that we may honour with praise the things which are blameless, and turn aside from all which are unduly spoken and which step outside of the doctrines of the truth.

2

Albeit how ought not one who wanted to shew the difference of the properties¹, I mean of flesh and Godhead, to advance to this very point by such thoughts and words as were meet? For not the same as regards the quality which is inherent in each of the things named, are Body and the Unembodied, the flesh taken of human lump and the Word which beamed forth from the Essence of God the Father. Yet we must not therefore sever into two christs and sons the One Lord JESUS CHRIST.

3

But that we say that the Flesh of the Lord has been ensouled with reasonable soul, has been full often told by us, and now too no less do we affirm that it is no other-wise.

4

Let Diodore hear now from us too, If you say that He is flesh whom you call a Nazarene or an assumed man², shew thyself to us apart from all disguise and mask, tell (I pray) clearly what you deem good to think, and do not, simply speaking of flesh without soul, attempt to carry away the hearers. Since WE ourselves say that according to the plan of proper nature³, the flesh will surely be of other nature than the Word which sprang out of God the Father, yet hath it become His by Union which may not be plucked asunder⁴.

¹ ἰδιωμάτων

see fragment 16 against the Synousiasts.

² ἄνθρωπον ἀναληφθέντα

³ ἰδιότητος

⁴ ἀδιᾶσπαστον

He is rather One and the Same Son, so as to be conceived of as both out of the Essence of God the Father Divinely and out of us humanly, or out of the seed of David. He was called a Prophet as Moses. And we do not disbelieve the title, seeing that we know the might of the Economy with flesh. Not Himself was the Temple nor yet in His own Nature in that He is conceived of as God did He admit the undoing⁵ of it: yet was that His own which was un-
done, just as of each of us his body is his own.

⁵ λύσιν, as
S. John
ii. 14.

Hence His is Divinely the Essence which is before the worlds, His in like wise and not another's that in the last times He should be born in the flesh. For the birth from the holy Virgin was found to the Word, not a way to His Being but unto His manifestation with flesh: and He is in no wise mortal out of mortals but rather Life as out of Life the FATHER.

Yet hath the Body mortal out of mortals and subject unto death become the own of Life, in order that through it contending with death and raised from the dead He might reform unto incorruption and prove superior to death that which has been mastered of death, as regards its own nature: for death falling on the body of Life, became impotent.

For that the Word of God endures not to suffer a *shadow* of turning, nor yet does the flesh letting go what it is, change into the Nature of the Word united to It, every one of them who think aright will (I suppose) say.

S. James
i. 17.

For withdrawing some little (if you please) the investigation from the person of Christ the Saviour of us all, when

FR. AG. we examine one of the things which has been named, as to its nature, itself by itself, one and other in all respects is the bondman's form and the Lord's, or human and Divine, lamb and High Priest, Maker and made.

9

Col. ii. 9. But haply you will say, *Hath not then in Him dwelt all, the fulness of the Godhead bodily?* This too is true and one will not deny what has been written; yet we say that not in another's body do we conceive that the Godhead of the Son hath dwelt, but rather as in His own Temple: just as the soul of man too, being other than ^b the flesh yet together with the flesh makes up the person of a single man, as Peter or Paul.

Yet Christ is conceived of as above this too: for we say that not the Word of God became to the body in place of a soul, as some most absurdly imagine ^c; but we affirm rather

^b κατὰ seems an error for παρὰ.
^c The Apollinarians: see in Tillemont, above p. 44 note col. 1. The extracts from S. Athanasius, speak of the Apollinarian unwillingness to own that our Lord made His own ought of created matter; see the theory that the body was consubstantial with the Godhead, their refusal to worship ought created, to allow that Christ was man. Diodore and Theodore having all this to battle with speak as if, while holding that the manhood is perfect and complete, they disjoined it altogether from God the Son, making it a distinct man and calling it His in some vague way without uniting Godhead and manhood in one. Calling it His in some vague way hindered their seeing that they were really dividing Christ into Two beings, God and man, separate from each other. Theodore notwithstanding the powerful influence of these two minds, and his dread of Apollinarianism, enunciates clearly the Union, though with language occasionally vague. Andrew's statements (of Samosata in the same province) are still more clear. S. Athanasius says, "But ye say again, We do not worship a creature., O void of understanding! why do ye not consider that, made the Lord's Body, it bears away no created worship? for it has been made the Body of the Uncreated Word: Him Whose Body it has been made, to Him do ye offer the worship also." against

Apollinarius, lib. i. 6. t. i. 926 c. "For ye essay to say that the flesh is consubstantial with the Godhead." ib. i. 9 t. i. 929 b. "But ye say again, If Christ be man, He will be a part of the world, and a part of the world cannot save the world., O thought of deceit and madness of blasphemy, let them say of what Scripture is this rule or sophism of the devil: albeit the Prophet saith, And a Man was born in her and the Highest Himself founded her. How then does Christ not save the world, made man? seeing that it is manifest that in the nature wherein sin was committed, therein hath had place the abundance of grace. What is abundance of grace? That the Word hath been made man, abiding God; in order that made man too, He may be believed to be God, so that Christ being man is God, because being God He has been made man, and in human form saves the believers." lib. ii. 7 t. i. 945 b c d. "How then do ye say that the Word, Creator of the rational natures, commingling with Himself flesh, was made a rational man? and how without change and turn hath He been made man, if He did not compact the bondman's form so as to be rational? in order that the Word may be without turn, abiding what He was, and being God may be seen on earth, man endowed with reason: for the Lord is a heavenly man [ἐπουράνιος ἄνθρωπος, comp. 1 Cor.

that His holy and spotless Body has been ensouled with DIOB.
reasonable soul.

10

All-Perfect confessedly and without increase is the Word of God (for He has been begotten out of the Perfect Father, Wisdom out of Wisdom and Might out of Might), but since Unchangeableness by Nature is His, in nothing wronged by being in a Temple, He hath remained the Same, i. e., All-Perfect and Wisdom and Might. And the flesh ripening advanced by degrees according to the law of its nature, the Word united to it made a declaration by little and little of His own Wisdom, keeping pace so to say with the increase and advance of His Body and one not inharm-
onious with the size of His stature. Thus He was regarded by them who saw Him, as being gradually advanced to the successive attainment of the above-named things.

see below
fr. 20,
above p.
114 and
note there.

xv. 48 cited just below, and as the Heavenly One (ὁ ἐπουράνιος) such too the heavenly ones], not as exhibiting flesh from out of Heaven but as compacting Heavenly flesh from out of earth: wherefore also as the Heavenly One, such too the heavenly ones by the participation of His holiness. Wherefore He also makes His own the things of His body. But ye say again, , How did they crucify the , Lord of glory? , But they did not crucify the Word as ye say, not so, but they set at nought the Word, affixing to the Cross the Body of the Word. For it was God Who was set at nought," as above p. 303 note g. "Wherefore the Lord said to the Jews, *Undo this Temple and in three days I will rear it.* As the Prophet saith, *Because was delivered unto death His Soul,* not the Word Himself: and John says, *He laid down His Soul (ψυχὴν) for us.* How then did the Jews avail to undo the Temple of God and to part from Him the indissoluble commixture that had taken place of the flesh with the Word (τὴν ἄλυστον σύγκρασιν τῆς σαρκὸς πρὸς τὸν λόγον γενομένην), if the death of the flesh is as you take it of such sort. For neither would the body have died except it were parted from somewhat. For except there had being undoing of it, there were no death; if death have not befallen, neither hath resurrection. Allow therefore that an

undoing and a parting from the body took place, as it is written in the Gospels, *He gave up the ghost,* and, *He bowed His Head and yielded up the ghost*; in order that we may see what ghost ye understood was parted from the body, and [so] the dying had place. For ye said, that the Word having commingled with Himself an impersonal flesh (σάρκα τὴν ἀνυπόστατον) exhibited man truly rational and perfect. If therefore the Word withdrew from the body and thus the dying took place, the Jews prevailed against God, dissolving the indissoluble commixture. Neither therefore hath our death had place there, if the death of the body had place, from God being parted from it. And how did the body parted from the Incorruptible God remain in incorruption? the wounding will be that of the Body, the suffering that of the Word. Wherefore ye speak of a suffering God also, uttering things consonant with yourselves, yea rather agreeing with the Arians: for they teach thus. And the Word, according to you, will by the Resurrection be raised: for it is necessary that one take the beginning of the Resurrection from Hades, in order that the Resurrection may be perfect, both the undoing of death and the release of the spirits that are there." ib. 16 t. i. 952 d e 953 a b c d.

FR. AG.

11

Heb. ii.
14.

Hence *He hath partaken like us in blood and flesh*, in order that in His own flesh combating with death and bringing it to nought, He might achieve incorruption for our mortal bodies and stay the law that rages in our members from its tyranny over us. For it was not possible in any other way to mingle life with death, except He had used a mortal Body; neither could the sting of natural pleasures have been blunted in us too, except that which was taken from our lump had been made the own body of the Word.

12

Not soulless, excellent sir, do we say that the flesh forth of the seed of David, united to God the Word is, nor yet will any imagine, if he have a mind not corrupted, that He was to the holy Temple instead of mind and soul^d; yet we are not accustomed to call man, that which is forth of the seed of David, son apart and separate^e.

13

Yet, wise sir, would I say, soul and body combine unto a man's birth and the one does not precede the other: but God the Word, albeit He was before all worlds as God, was pleased in the latter times to be united to flesh having a reasonable soul, and to be born man, yet keep even so the glory that was His own: for He spurned not the preeminence over all which is inherent in Him, but is worshipped even thus as One and Only Son by us and by the holy angels.

^d this being the Apollinarian error with which Diodore had to contend.

^e The first fragment has been preserved to us in a syriac collection rather later than Severus, the remainder so far (except a few words here and there) belong to John of Cæsarea's collection, see above p. 321 note a. Those which

follow have been chiefly preserved by Severus either in his controversy with the same Bishop John, or in that with his own fellow-heretic Julian of Halicarnassus. The lines which introduce S. Cyril's fragments are Severus', except in one or two cases which have notes as they occur.

The^f same from his discourse against Diodore beginning,

We set nothing before the truth.

For he who is minded to conceive aright, when one names Him who is of the seed of David, understands at once the Word which sprang from God the Father, Who was Incarnate and made in our likeness: but thou sayest that he was the dwelling-place of the Word, surpassing indeed the holy Prophets and in more exalted place, not that He is God of God even though He was made flesh, in incomparable divergence exalted above our human condition; but that when he was formed, the Word came to him, crowning him with surpassing grace and putting in him Its own Wisdom and Glory, in order that he might become partaker of God and not be himself conceived of as God, the Only-Begotten Word of God, because He was pleased to take our likeness and to be of the seed of Divine David.

^g Holy and without sin is the body of Christ our God and Saviour, and in this respect is incorruptible from the womb, and herein He hath ever no participation or likeness with us, because *He was made like unto us in everything* except sin, and in like manner with us did He take part in blood and flesh, as said the Apostle. Heb. ii. 17.
ib. 14.

in his Discourse against the wicked Diodore wrote thus,

Excellent sir, (say I) thou art belching forth foolish words and sick with much absurdity: for from Mary was the Holy Body, yet at the beginning of its formation or subsistence in the womb, was it holy as being the body of Christ, and

^f This fragment is preserved in same collection as l.

^g This is given by Card. Mai in a latin translation from a treatise of Severus "Questions with the heretics" (Migne t. ix. col. 1451 n. 21). It is extant also in the British Museum MS. add. 14529 fol. 27 v. I had overlooked it when editing the Syriac fragments but was di-

rected to it later by Wright's Catalogue. This and the following paragraph make up but one piece in Mai: but are separate pieces in the London MSS. Card. Mai too gives the latter portion of this as a separate piece from the Philalethes (n. 18 in Migne) as well as in the longer n. 21, from the Questions.

FR. AG. there is not an instant in which it was not His,^h but was rather simple flesh, as thou saidst, and in equality with other flesh.

16

theⁱ wise Cyril finding fault with this craftiness writes thus against Diodore,

comp.
above
fr. 4.

Fearing therefore lest we should downright say Man openly, in his craft he calls Him flesh: else why in the world is it that we do not say that the flesh is the Son of God, but rather call it the flesh of Him Who is in truth and by Nature Son? in order that we may conceive of and say One Christ and Son and Lord.

17

wrote against Diodore thus,

Let him know then that the body which was born at Bethlehem, even though in its natural qualities it is not the same, so to say, with the Word which is from forth God the Father, yet is His and does not belong to another son apart from Him, seeing that the Word Incarnate and made Man is conceived of as One Son and Christ and Lord.

and after this he again adds these too,

Since we too say that in regard of its own property the flesh is of a truth of other nature than the Word Which was born from the Father, yet is it His own in Union inseparable: just as also the Word Which sprang from the Essence of God the Father, will be called seed of Abraham after the flesh, the Economy calling Him thereto and in no wise injuring Him, in regard to His being what He is, for being God by Nature He became of a truth Son of man too, and He is Son of God the Father, not alien nor falsely so called, but He it is Who ineffably and incomprehensibly begat

^h Card. Mai citing this from Severus' Philalethes ends it differently, *no one will admit so much as an instant of time in which that (flesh) will be common and like other flesh as you say and not ra-*

ther be the Flesh of the Word (n. 18 in Migne).

ⁱ from the same collection as 1 and 14.

Him of Himself, even though He be not conceived of apart from flesh after the Union^k. DION.

and again after a little,

Hence, even though no one call Him seed of David, Who proceeded forth of the Essence of God the Father, as neither does one so call the Only-Begotten, yet the force of the Union which is without confusion and without change, undoes severance. And again, because neither is the Only-Begotten in regard of His natural quality flesh nor again the Word flesh, he severs them not aright, putting them as though one and another and confessing two sons, to whom he gives barely the connection of affection.

Or haply there are some (I ween) who rave because they do not bring the flesh by change to the nature of the Word, nor yet again bring down the Word unto Consubstantiality with the flesh united thereto.

and after more,

Yet is it wholly unreasonable that thou durst blame them who hold the right faith and art not ashamed to withstand them who confess the Union without confusion; and thou art wholly jumbling up everything and demonstrating that the flesh is of other nature, I mean in respect of God the Word: and if one confess this with thee, keeping clear of the unlearning of the Synousiasts, thou forthwith severest the One into two.

18

and as S. Cyril in his book against Diodore, blaming such falsehood, writes,

If He be full surely a prophet as thou affirmest and confidently sayest, Who received the gift of the SPIRIT, and foretold the things to come, and again ministered the SPIRIT, and it appears to thee not right that the Word Who is forth

^k Card. Mai has a portion of this (Migne n. 19) cited "from Severus' defence of his Philalethes," and continues his extract, "Thou therefore while thou art admitting His all-but change into flesh soul-less and reason-less, art dividing into two sons the Only One, impiously rejecting the truth that One is the Son."

FR. AG. of God the Father should be called a prophet; who is it that received the gift of the SPIRIT and ministered the revelation of the things to come? Perchance thou sayest, He that is of the seed of David, or as thou callest him, The man of Nazareth. He is then a prophet and nothing else, and just a little exalted above our condition: for He is in no wise Equal, I mean in greatness and in glory to God the Word, if the One be the Giver of the SPIRIT, the other the minister of the gift from the Spirit. And lo how does the God-inspired Scripture call the Holy Ghost the Spirit of Jesus? for *they wished* (it says) *to go into Bithynia and the Spirit of Jesus suffered them not.*

Acts xvi.
7.

19

For so says S. Cyril when writing against Diodore,

That the Word out of God the Father was not by any called Christ or Jesus as long as He was not yet man, is evident: Christ indicates anointing, Jesus clearly came through Angel's voice, and before His conception in the holy Virgin was put upon Him Who was born of her after the flesh.

S. Luke
ii. 21.

20

... what wise Cyril put forth against Diodore and wrote thus,

DIODORE. „ For while the Lord was in the bowels of the „ Virgin and of her essence, He had not the honour of „ sonship; but when He was fashioned and became a tem- „ ple for God the Word, in that He received the Only- „ Begotten, He took the honour of the name and was par- „ ticipant with Him in the honour. „

to these the Saint mighty in the SPIRIT blaming him said,

CYRIL. Therefore according to thee, Emmanuel was not God nor Son at all, but a common man and one as we, but because on His birth the Only-Begotten came to Him, therefore He became too the Temple of God, and was vouch-

safed the sonship and the Dignity : undoubtedly therefore Diod.
He has the honour as something added to Him.

again he brings forward Diodore varying and contradicting himself and
writing thus,

DIODORE. „ But he who was of the seed of David, as
„ created, had the Word for his God, and when created
„ he became of God the Word : for with us first a temple
„ is prepared, and then He Who dwelleth enters it; in the
„ womb of the Virgin He Who dwelleth fashioned Him-
„ self a Temple and removed not from the Temple but filled
„ it with His glory and His Wisdom : nor as in the case
„ of the Prophets, was there ignorance with Him until the
„ Spirit made revelation.,,

and again he cites him saying the opposite, after this wise,

„ For the Godhead did not immediately on his creation
„ or birth, infuse all His Wisdom within him, but by little
„ and little gave it to the body. ,,

against these things therefore, forthwith did he who wisely exposed them,
add,

CYRIL. But it is meet before other things to say this :
against what he says and wishes to hold, himself advances
the contrary ; for he affirms that the Godhead of the Son
did not as soon as he was born, put all His wisdom within
him, albeit he wrote in what is a little above [Diodorus cited
by Cyril] „ For with us first——but filled it with His glory
„ and His wisdom ,, (*as above*).

21

for he wrote against Diodore thus,

CYRIL. But WE, wise sir, believing that so to think is
stupidity, say that the Word took flesh of the holy Virgin
and proceeded man, and He was not in a man ⁵ nor is He ⁵see above
seen to take upon Him a man ; but He is rather One and ^{p. 192}
^{note i.}

FR. AG. the Same Son ; in order that He may be conceived to be of the Essence of God the Father Divinely, and of us humanly, that is, of the seed of David.

and again citing Diodore who says,

„The Perfect Likeness of God the Word, the perfect
„likeness of the bondman whom He took upon Him,,

Cyril says,

In place of, He was made, or was born according to the flesh of a woman and proceeded man, he oftentimes puts the word *took* and the word *received*, in order that he may shew that he is a man who has a connection of affection, I mean with God the Word, and that he may not confess with us that He Who is in truth Lord became man.

22

for he cites Diodore wickedly writing thus,

DIODORE. „But how do ye introduce one worship? is
„it as to the soul and body of kings? for the soul reigns
„not by itself and the body reigns not by itself, but God
„the Word was King before flesh; not therefore as to
„soul and body, so to God the Word and to flesh [is the
„worship paid].,,

against these things again he answering said,

CYRIL. Of diverse kind then is the worship, and hence it is not One worship from us (for this is what thy word bids us): but where a difference in worship and honour is paid to the things named, and to each is accurately given what befits it, there full surely inequality of power follows: but inequality and difference in power, in regard to less and greater, comes to Two Hypostases and Persons. Union therefore flees away, the depth of the Mystery departs to nothing, for it is not right, he says, that as to the soul and body of kings should worship be paid, albeit how were it not better that this should be the type? for as out of soul

and body is one man, albeit the properties of each have great diversity one to another, I mean as to their mode of being (for the soul is other than the body): so will you understand concerning Christ too the Saviour of us all. For the Word Which was made flesh, i. e., was seen in human likeness, is God: in order that He may be confessed to be and may be in truth, God alike and man, One and Only All-Perfect Son. But he is saying I know not what, in trifling and childish imaginations daring to sport himself against the Truth. Diod.

23

thus S. Cyril cites Diodore as writing,

DIODORE. „ *A prophet shall the Lord God raise up to you* Deut. xviii. 15.
 „ *out of your brethren, like me.* Was the Prophet at all inferior to Moses? was he not Perfect man? Therefore
 „ neither is he of Nazareth less than a man, who is of the
 „ seed of David. But Perfect God out of Perfect God took
 „ perfect man: „ and again, „ *For the Godhead did not,* as above p. 331.
 „ *immediately on his formation or birth, put all His Wis-*
 „ *dom within him, but by little and little gave it to the*
 „ *body.* „

to him who blasphemously utters these and such like lies, amid his blame the righteous accuser of the wickedness says,

CYRIL. It results that He is no longer God, but a God-clad man rather and in equal measure with these others, in whom God manifestly dwelt.

24

and he introduces Diodore wickedly saying,

DIODORE. „ The¹ Son of God and that not by reason of
 „ ought (for He is so by Nature): the flesh is son by rea-
 „ son of the Son. „

¹ This extract is given more at length by Leontius of Byzantium, who gives it as, *from Book 1 against the Synousiasts.* Contra Nest. et Eutch. lib. iii in Gall. xii. 697.

FR. AG.

as to whom he also draws out his speech and says,

1 Cor.
viii. 6.

CYRIL. And how (tell me) by reason of the Son is the flesh by itself son? or of whom is it son at all? the Son's? and how dost thou not fall from hence, when thou hast brought the absurdity to this point? well then, is it the son of God the Father, in like manner as He too Who is by Nature and truly of His Essence? Two therefore unquestionably sons of God there are: and lo whither goes Paul who says, *One God the Father of Whom everything and WE of Him, and One Lord Jesus Christ through Whom everything and WE through Him?*

25

Cyril examining as to Emmanuel too, in these against Diodore wrote thus,

CYRIL. But when we are conceiving of the Only-Begotten Word, as united to His flesh, we do not take it as being like a garment nor do we say that He cast it upon Him like cloaks which are external, as though it were alien: but it is rather a demonstration of the declaration that He *was made flesh*, i. e. man. The Word therefore had a natural presence in the body which was united to Him and is His, just as also the soul of man is his, albeit the nature is alien.

26 *

and against Diodore thus,

For WE who hold the Right and Immaculate Faith, and ever cleave to the Divine Scriptures, and follow the tracks of the Faith of the Fathers, when we hear 'JESUS,' we understand the Only-Begotten Word made Man.

27

seeing that Diodore too who takes occasion and speaks against them who confound the Natures, i. e. who mingle the flesh of the Lord and foolishly

say that it changed into the Essence of God the Word, and became the opposite of what it was before, says that they call One Christ two sons, the wise Cyril cries out on him and says, Diod.

CYRIL. Therefore let us give the crown to Paul of Samosata too, who more accurately than thou, did contend against the Synousiasts; for that more than thou did he sever the Mystery of the Economy.

28

striving ^m against Diodore, the all-wise Cyril says thus,

He dared clothe in form of Lord, him who (as he says) is man from Mary, who at the beginning no way surpassed us, but hardly was counted worthy of the name and honour of Son and of God, after he had come forth of the womb. Christ then verily is, as I said, two sons and a new god, and has been crowned by God with supernatural honour in some small degree above the creatures, that together with a mere man He might be worshipped who at last gained the glory, i. e., the complement of the Holy Consubstantial Trinity.

29

for ⁿ S. Cyril writing against Diodore says thus of the definition of a man,

This, my friend, is the definition of human nature which is also called a substance, that it is a rational animal, mortal, recipient of mind and learning.

The ^o same Cyril against Diodore,

We have already often said, when we were making our

^m This is preserved to us by Severus in a long letter which he wrote to his fellow-heretic Julian of Halicarnassus, in the British Museum add. 17200. Cardinal Mai also preserved a latin translation of it, I do not know whether he procured it from the same work of Severus.

ⁿ In the fragments as edited, this little piece is only given in latin, from Cardinal

Mai's collection, but the British Museum MS. Add. 12155 fol. 180 v has it (as pointed out by Wright in his Catalogue) and supplies the concluding words. The same definition is given by S. Cyril in his Thesaurus, cap. 8 fin. p. 66 a &c, ad Hermeiam, lib. 2 p. 425 c &c.

^o This and the following are from the latin translation (not always exact) which Cardinal Mai preserved to us:

FRAGM. Defence of all the Chapters, that not because the natures came together unto union, must duality be admitted^p. For as a man although compounded out of reasonable soul and body, is one and is not divided into two and this whole is called an animal rational and mortal, albeit really mortal in one part, rational in the other part: thus too Immanuel, being One, of Godhead and manhood, whereof each is perfect in itself, is the Same God and man, mortal and Immortal, in time and before all ages, Palpable and Impalpable, Visible and Invisible. For had He Immortal in His own Nature taken nothing from mortal nature, i. e. from the seed of Abraham, we had not been renewed and lifted up to immortality, *vain* had been our *faith* and we had *still* lain in our *sins*.

see fr. 29
and end
of note n.

1 Cor. xv.
17.

The same Cyril against Diodore,

see above
pp. 325,
331.

For as, suffering pains in the flesh He yet remained Impassible in the Nature of His own Godhead: so I say that even while He was growing He was All-Perfect. And while His wisdom was believed to be increasing, He was even then the o'erflowing fountain of wisdom whence all others draw their wisdom.

this one is from the defence of Severus for his Philalethes. They have in Migne ix. 1450, 1452 the numbers 20, and 26.

^p i. e. that we must not "divide the the Hypostases into Two," def. chapter

3 against Eastern Bishops, p. 167 a, against Theodoret, 213 c d e 214 a. def. against Theodoret chapter 4, pp. 217 e, 218, chapter 6, p. 224 a, chapter 12, p. 239 e.

THE SAME

CYRIL

FROM HIS SECOND BOOK AGAINST THE WORDS OF THEODORE^a*of which the beginning is*

They who with clear eye of the understanding view closely
the holy and God-inspired Scripture^b.

1^c

HE said to His disciples, *Call not any teacher on the earth, for one is your Leader, Christ.* For He did not, when

S. Matt.
xxiii. 10.

^a Theodore, the contemporary and, in early days, comrade of S. Chrysostom, brother of Polychronius, Bishop of Apamea, was for about 36 years Bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia: he died in 428. John Archbishop of Antioch and Theodoret were therefore at the opening of their Episcopate when Theodore was now in old age. He seems to have been of a gifted family, for Theodoret closes his history (lib. v. 39) with the praise of Polychronius for grace in speech as well as in nobility of life. And Theodore too was a Preacher and writer, of great repute in the Province of Antioch. But he seems to have lacked stability and a well-balanced mind, and thus his controversy in earlier life against the Arians and Apollinarians led him, as well as Diodore whose pupil he was, to speak of the Incarnation as though it were only a condescension of God the Son in connecting with Himself in some way a man who had an already distinct Being. In the next Century, Facundus Bishop of Hermæum near Carthage who endeavours most strenuously to defend Theodore, has preserved a long extract of Theodore's from a work called, 'Of Apollinarius and his heresy,' in which Theodore says, „Thirty years ago I wrote a book of 15000 lines on „the Incarnation of our Lord in which „I examined the faults of Arius and „Eunomius hereon and also the empty „presumption of Apollinarius, through „my whole work; so as to pass over (I „believe) nothing pertaining either to the „stability of Ecclesiastical orthodoxy „or to the proof of their impiety. But „they . . . especially instructed by Apol-

„linarius the head of this heresy shewed „my work to all who thought as they „did, if any how they might find valid „answers against it. But since no one „ventured to take up the gauntlet against „the book . . . they wrote certain silly „things which I never said and foisted „them into my book and shewed them „to their friends, sometimes too to our „people who of their over-easiness listened eagerly to it all, and offered it „as a proof as they imagined of my „wickedness. And one of these writings „was to say two sons „(Theodore in Facundus, Def. iii. Capp. x. 1, Gallandi Bibl. Vett. Patr. xi. 770, 771). Nevertheless however much Theodore attempts to shield himself under cover of interpolations, his assertion (see below pp. 347, 355) of One Son and explanation of how he means One convict him of that heresy which John of Antioch, Theodoret and others, though they valued and admired Theodore, escaped.

^b This is the title with which the Venice manuscript of John of Cæsarea's compilation introduces these extracts; he calls it second book because that against Diodore was considered the first. Severus however, the fifth Council and others cite this as Book 1.

^c This first extract belongs to Theophilus Archbishop of Alexandria and is taken from the first of those of his Paschal homilies which S. Jerome translated into Latin and thus preserved to us; John of Cæsarea says, 'This testimony Cyril took to himself against what was said by Theodore: it belongs to Theophilus bishop of Alexandria.' It is his Homily for the year 401, when Theophilus was

FR. AG. He was commanding the Apostles this, distinguish His proper Godhead from His visible body, nor when He affirmed that He was Christ did He distinguish Himself from soul and flesh, being thus both God and man, bondman visible and Lord acknowledged, veiling the height of His Godhead with the low estate of the Incarnation, lifting up the low estate of the visible body by the operation of His Godhead.

2^d

Let not men deceive nor be deceived admitting as „ man of the Lord,,, as they call Him, a man without a mind, but rather our Lord and God : for neither do we sunder the man from the Godhead but we declare Him One and the Same, erst not man but God and Son only and before the ages, ¹ ἀμύγη¹ unmingled ¹ with body and what belong to body ; at the end Man too assumed for our salvation, suffering in flesh, Impassible in Godhead, circumscribed in body, uncircumscribed in Godhead, the Same earthly and Heavenly, seen and conceived of, contained in space and boundless, in order that the whole man which fell under sin might be re-formed by the Same, Whole Man and God.

3

For since the Only-Begotten Word of God being Life by Nature was made flesh, the nature of man re-bloomed Col. i. 18. unto life : for He has become *first among all*. And for this reason the Life-giving Word of God made His own flesh which was subject to death, in order that manifesting it superior to both death and decay, He might transmit the grace to us too. For as in Adam we were brought down unto death, so in Christ thrusting aside the tyranny of death, are we re-formed unto immortality.

more than half through his 27 years' Episcopate. It is entitled, "To the Bishops of all Egypt." It is chiefly against Origen but the earlier part contains a clear statement of the Incarnation. S. Cyril quotes a little more of it in his *de recta fide* to the Princesses, p. 52 a b c.

^a From S. Gregory Naz. Ep. 1 to

Cledonius against Apollinarius, as John of Cæsarea notes : 'Another testimony 'of the same Cyril in the same book 'brought forward by him against what 'is said by Theodore. It is in the first 'Letter written to Cledonius by the 'most holy and blessed Gregory bishop 'of Nazianzum.'

The same from the first book against Theodore ^e.

For as out of soul and body are one man, albeit the properties pertaining to each have the vastest possible difference one to another in respect (I mean) of their being such (for the soul is other than the body): thus will it be conceived of also as to Christ the Saviour of us all.

S. Cyril from his first book against Theodore from the last quire ^f,

GOD was He Who suffered in the flesh (wise sir), *the Lord of Glory, Who by the grace of God tasted death for every man*, not in the Nature of His Godhead but in His ^{Heb. ii. 9.} Proper Body.

for this in that too against Theodore of Mopsuestia in the first book wrote S. Cyril,

CYRIL. But we make use of necessary examples, everywhere keeping undivided the Union and repelling thy severance. The example of the sun however, none of them who think aright brings to the establishment of union, knowing that we follow the Divine Scriptures, which have ^{2 2} *ἐθέλουσι*, ut videtur it that the Word of God (as we have said) should *partake* in like wise as we in blood and flesh ensouled with a reasonable soul, and not on the contrary that it is man who by participation and mere affection, is illuminated by the Divine Economy as if from a ray of the sun.

and in the first book of those which he wrote against Theodore of Mopsuestia on this wise,

CYRIL. But Jesus Christ is not conceived of alone and by Himself; or again as without flesh and bare of the

^e The three first of these extracts are taken from the collection of John, Bishop of Caesarea; this one has been preserved to us by a Manuscript in the

Library of S. Mark at Venice.

^f from a collection later than Severus; the next four are from Severus.

FR. AG. likeness usward, but rather as the Word of God, incarnate and made man.

8

³ i.e. the Council of Nice. Cyril therefore treating of the 318 holy Fathers³ in his first book wrote these things too against Theodore,

S. Luke i. 2. Lo with all clearness do the initiators of all under heaven and the champions of the truth, men elect and spirit-clad, tracking the Divine Words and the Tradition of the Saints and Apostles and Evangelists, who were *eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word*, bid us believe, not in Two sons, but in One Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, Begotten from forth the Father. The name Christ is indicative of anointing, and that of Jesus was conferred, not on the bare Word, conceived of apart from flesh, but rather when He was born of a woman in the flesh: yet even so do they say that One is the Only-Begotten, Who was begotten by Nature of the Father, and they affirm that He is God and Consubstantial with the Father; saying that through Him were made all things which are in Heaven and upon earth, and in plain terms they confess, that "for us men and "for our salvation He came down, and was both made flesh "and made man, and suffered and died and rose the third "day and ascended into heaven."

Creed of Nicea

[It is not said to which book the following belong.]

9

and see the all-wise Cyril, justly objecting this to Theodore and writing thus,

Chicanery then is the Mystery of Christ and there is nought true therein; but thus he says, that the glory of God was spread upon him, i.e. the appellation of God, as some tint, was anointed on a man like us; we refuse to be man-worshippers, *who worship the creature rather than the Creator.*

see p. 362

Rom. i. 25.

S. Cyril from his Book against Theodore of Mopsuestia^g.

For being God by Nature and truly Son of God the Father, He was made in likeness of men and made His own the flesh which is of the holy Virgin and it is the flesh of God and full of God-befitting might: wherefore it is also life-giving and repels infirmities and works the undoing of death.

S. Athanasius from his work upon the Incarnation of the Word: Cyril cited it in his books against Theodore^h.

We confess that He is Son of God and God according to the Spirit, Son of Man according to the flesh, not Two Natures to that One Son, One [Nature] worshipped the other unworshipped, but One Nature of God the Word Incarnateⁱ, worshipped with His flesh with One worship^k: nor Two Sons, One, Very Son of God and worshipped, the other the man out of Mary not worshipped, made by grace son of God just as men too are.

and reiterating these matters of faith, . . . he defines thus^l,

Him anathematizes the holy Catholic Church, obeying the Divine Apostle who says, *If any one preach to you beside that ye received let him be accursed.* Gal. i. 9.

for S. Cyril cites Theodore who was Archbishop of Mopsuestia, in what he wrote against him who wickedly cried out thus^m,

THEODORE. „ But yea (he says), for as albeit He was of

^g from the same collection as the passage given above, p. 320, see p. 326 note e: Card. Mai also gives it from Severus against Julian of Halicarnassus.

^h These words of preface are taken from a Compilation mentioned in note g: they are in the British Museum MSS., Add. 14532, 14533, 12155.

ⁱ The Greek is *μίαν φύσιν τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγου σεσαρκωμένην*, "One Incarnate Nature of the Word," not 'One Nature of the Incarnate Word' which would be the Monophysite heresy, and this ex-

pression S. Cyril carefully states and explains in his second letter to Succensus, Epp. pp. 142, 143. Almost the whole passage is given above, the beginning at p. 265 note e, the sequel at p. 41 note e.

^k On this passage, see Preface.

^l The author of the Collection thus introduces the final words of S. Athanasius, see de recta fide to Arcadia and Marina 40 b.

^m This and the next are from Severus against the Catholic John, Bishop of Caesarea.

FR. AG. „Bethlehem, He was called a Nazarene because of His „abidance and growing up there : so [is He called] manⁿ „too, because He sojourned in man.,,

and S. Cyril against these things says thus

Silly and childish and old womanish is the speech, for not as from a city one is called citizen or countryman, so by reason of dwelling in a man, is the Word being God called man.

13

as also Theodore Archbishop of Mopsuestia who in his craft had done this, the wise Cyril blaming, in his book against him thus wrote,

CYRIL. But he thinks that he has said something clever, for he affirms that it is right that the body should be honoured, i. e. the man, for he (I suppose) blushes to call it by the appellation of Son, and to call the Word by that of Body. The Union therefore consists in titles, and an assemblage of mere names : but in truth the Mystery is utterly repudiated.

The ° same Cyril against Theodore.

see below
pp. 358,
359.

But he with mouth wide open and reins of blasphemy let loose says that Christ's holiness was imperfect, and did not reach its height ere the Spirit in the form of a dove had come down upon Him. Why was He not Perfect? full surely one who is imperfect cannot be without sin, yea

ⁿ The following passage from S. Athanasius against Apollinarius will illustrate what suggested to Theodore, in opposing Apollinarians, to err thus sorrowfully. S. Athanasius says, "Tell me therefore how ye say that God was made of Nazareth? is it as declaring a beginning of generation of the Godhead, like Paul of Samosata, or denying the generation in the flesh, like Marcion and the rest of the heretics? not walking after the Gospel standard but chusing to speak out of your own? for therefore do ye say that God has been born of a Virgin and not God and man after the Gospel standard: lest, confessing the birth of the flesh ye should say it was a natural birth, speaking truth, but ye say that God was born, and that He ex-

hibited His own flesh in semblance. For God does not shew forth the beginning of His Generation from Nazareth; but God the Word Who existed before the ages, appeared man out of Nazareth, born of Mary the Virgin and of the Holy Ghost [*compare* 'Man of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin,' in S. Augustine on S. John hom. 111 fin. p. 998 O.T.], in Bethlehem of Judaea of the seed of David and Abraham and Adam, as it is written; taking all from a Virgin whatever from the beginning God moulded and made without sin unto the subsistence of man." S. Ath. against Apoll. ii. 5. t. i. 943 c d.

^o This piece is supplied in a latin translation by Card. Mai: see Migne ix. 1451. n. 24.

one who is believed to be in part holy is thought to be in another part infirm. Besides what is that defect which (as the opponent asserts) the Holy Ghost supplied, that the other part too might be perfect and might break the devil's onset? Yea and not only is He Holy and verily most perfect but also endued with full power who used to heal sorrows and every sort of infirmity.

Cyril of holy memory from the first book of what he wrote against Theodore^p.

THEODORE.

„ If any like to call both God the Word Son of God son
 „ of David in an improper sense on account of God the
 „ Word's temple which is forth of David, let him name
 „ him too which is of the seed of David, Son of God; let
 „ him so style him by grace not by nature, not ignorant of
 „ his natural ancestors, nor perverting order and calling
 „ Him Who is Unembodied a body also; and Him that is
 „ before the ages forth of God forth of David too, and that
 „ He suffered and is Impassible^q. A body is not incor-
 „ poreal, what is from below is not from above, what is
 „ before the ages is not out of the seed of David, what suf-
 „ fered is not Impassible, nor are those things directed to
 „ the same understanding: what belong to the Body are

^p This and the following extracts are from the collection prepared for the fifth General Council, and read in its fifth collation. It was in preparation for this Council that Facundus Bishop of Hermæum (quoted above p. 337) had written his work, and no doubt John of Caesarea's vast array of extracts were prepared for the same purpose.

^q Thus far is given by Leontius of Byzantium as Diodore's. After a number of extracts of Theodore, Leontius gives five, which he attributes to Diodore with the title, *The same Diodore out of Book 1 against the Synousiasts*. This is the fourth of them. (Against Nestorians and Eutychians Book 3 in Gallandi, xii. 697.) Leontius' translation is a different one from that cited before the fifth Council. Gallandi assigns to Leontius the date about A.D. 610, nearly 60 years later than the Council. The fifth Council and Leontius agree in citing the work on (or as Leontius calls it, *against*)

the Incarnation, in fifteen books, & the four books against Apollinarius (Leontius, book 3 ubi supra pp. 695, 696; Conc. vi. 43 &c). The Council further cites yet another treatise: *The same from the book against the Synousiasts or Apollinarists, which blessed Cyril put forth and answered* (ib. 54, see below p. 345 and note s: so Pope Pelagius II in his Letter to Elias of Aquileia and other bishops in Istria. Conc. vi. 269). Leontius does not (as far as I see) cite this last, but is it a part of the treatise whence Leontius does cite five pieces as *Diodore out of book 1 against the Synousiasts*? of these five, the first is by Mercator too (p. 350 Bal.) attributed to Diodore (Mercator does not mention what book he extracted it from), the second is at p. 347, the third at p. 344, the fourth here, a piece of the fifth is by S. Cyril (p. 333) attributed to Diodore, while he attributes 2, 3, 4 to Theodore.

FR. AG. „not God's the Word, and what are God's the Word have
 „not the body as their seat. Let us confess the natures
 „and not deny the economies.,

S. CYRIL.

He who says that the economies must not be denied, utterly uproots the mystery of the human nature: for he dares to say that neither was the Only-Begotten Word of God made man, nor did He appear from forth the seed of holy David, but openly introduces to us a pair of sons, a nature uneven and false in its name. For that it is said to be *in an improper sense*, wholly shews that it is not truly what it is said to be, for it borrows the other's name. Hence if the Word of God be called man *in an improper sense*, He clearly was not made man. If he who is out of the seed of David is *in an improper sense* Son and God, he is by nature and in truth neither God nor Son. False then is the name in either case and the fact is really understood to be that each is called what it is not.

From the same book.

THEODORE.

„And it is convenient that they who view aright, should,
 „when we are looking for natural forefathers, call neither
 „God the Word son of David or Abraham but their Maker:
 „nor the body before the ages out of the Father but the
 „seed of Abraham and David born from Mary. And^r
 „when the consideration is of natural births, neither is God
 „the Word deemed to be Mary's son: for mortal bears
 „what is mortal by nature and a body like itself. God
 „the Word underwent not two births, one before the ages,
 „the other in the last times, but out of the Father was He
 „begotten by Nature, and the temple which was born of
 „Mary He fashioned to Himself out of the very womb.,

^r cited in part by Leontius under the name of Diodore against the Synou-
 siasts (see last note), but in the fourth collation of the Council it stands as, *The same Theodore from the passages which S. Cyril answered.* t. vi. 57.

Then going on a little and something intervening, he THEOD. I. said again,

„But when the consideration is of the saving economy, „let both God be called man (not because He became so, but „because He assumed it), and man God, not as though he „had become uncircumscribed nor every where existent, „for the body was subject to touch even after the resur- „rection, and so was taken up into Heaven and so will come „as it was taken up.,

CYRIL.

Lo plainly and manifestly is he borne against the Divine Scripture, he repudiates the mystery of Christ and as it were chides God the Word Who for us was pleased to suffer emptiness, and seems to grieve that He was made man. For he utterly takes away the Incarnation and lifts himself against the Unspeakable Wisdom, all-but saying in Jewish mode to Christ the Saviour of us all, *For a good* S. John x. 33. *work we stone Thee not but for blasphemy, that THOU, a man, makest Thyself God.* Let him hear Him then saying openly, *If therefore I do not the works of My Father believe Me not,* Ib. 37, 38. *if I do though ye believe not Me believe My Works.* For while he knows that the Word of God used Divine Might and Power even when He appeared as man, he denies that He is God and says that He rather dwelt in a man, in order that the Word of God might set forth to us a man to be worshipped and who is honoured with the mere name of Godhead; he is convicted therefore of being utterly ignorant of the might of Christ's Mystery.

Theodore from the same book.

„^s But if (he says) it were flesh which was crucified, „how does the sun turn away his rays, and darkness and

^s In these first words Theodore is citing an Apollinarian objection: compare with the passage S. Cyril's words against Nestorius, above pp. 175, 176. This whole passage is cited in the fourth collocation of the Council amid other extracts of Theodore with an allusion to this work of S. Cyril in its title, *The same from his book against the Synousiasts or Apol-*

linarians which the blessed Cyril both put forward and answered. t. vi. p. 54. ed. Col. S. Cyril's citation of it and reply comes further on in the fifth collocation p. 69 Col. and being a startling passage, part of it is cited (as n. 29) in Pope Vigilius' constitutum, Conc. v. 1331.

FR. AG. „ ‘earthquakes overpower the whole earth and were *the*
 S. Matth. „ ‘*rocks rent and the dead arose?*’ What then do they say
 xxvii. 51. „ of the darkness that happened in Egypt in the time of
 „ Moses, not for three hours but for three days? what of
 „ the other miracles which were wrought through Moses
 „ and through Jesus the son of Nave who made the sun
 „ stand, which sun under king Ezechias even went back
 „ against nature? and of the remains of Eliseus which
 „ raised a dead man? For if what things befell in the time
 „ of the Cross shew that God the Word suffered, and they
 „ allow not that the things were wrought for the sake of
 „ a man: the things too which happened in the time of Moses
 „ for the sake of Abraham’s race and those in the time of
 „ Jesus son of Nave and of king Ezechias will not be. But
 „ if those miracles were wrought for the sake of the people
 „ of the Jews, much more those on the cross for the sake
 „ of God the Word’s temple.,,

CYRIL.

Jer. ii. 12. *The^t heaven is astonished for this and has quaked exceedingly
 vehemently, saith the Lord. O wickedness past endurance!*
 Ps. lxxv. o tongue that speaks iniquity against God and mind that
 5. lifteth *up* its horn on high! seems it little to thee that the
 Lord of glory is fixed to the wood? Whom THOU sayest is
 neither true Son nor God, but we believe that He is truly
 Son and God, Creator and Maker of all things. For nei-
 ther was God the Word Which is out of God the Father
 man simply but in human form, not suffering translation
 or change into flesh, but rather united thereto according
 to the faith of the holy Scriptures. He it is Who suffered
 in the flesh and hung on the wood, wrought miracles in
 Egypt, manifesting His glory through the all-wise Moses.

^t This piece is also preserved in Syriac
 by Severus, in his treatise against John
 the Grammarian in the British Mu-
 seum MS. 12157 fol. 215 with the title,

*The same from the first Book of what he
 wrote against Theodore of Mopsuestia
 fighting against God.*

Theodore from the same book.

THEOD. I.

„ Son ^u by grace he who is man out of Mary, by Nature
 „ God the Word. But what is by grace is not by nature
 „ and what is by nature is not by grace. There are not
 „ two sons. Be these enough for the body which is of us,
 „ sonship by grace, glory, immortality, whereby it is made
 „ the Temple of God the Word; be it not raised above its
 „ nature and let not God the Word in place of the thanks-
 „ giving due from us be wronged. And what is the wrong? see state-
ment of
Apollin-
arian er-
rors, be-
low p. 363
note b.
 „ to combine Him with a body and to suppose that He
 „ needed a body for perfect sonship. Nor does God the
 „ Word Himself please that He should be David's son, but
 „ lord; but that the body should be called son of David,
 „ He not only does not grudge but even came for this very
 „ end. „

CYRIL.

Hence since what is by grace is not by nature and what
 is by nature is not by grace, there are not two sons, accord-
 ing to thy mode of reasoning. He indeed who is son by
 grace and not by nature is not truly son, it remains that
 the glory of true Sonship exist in Him Who is so by Na-
 ture not by grace, that is, in God the Word Who is forth
 of God the Father. Driven out therefore (as I said) from
 being and being called Son of God is Christ Jesus through
 Whom too we have been saved, declaring His Death
 and confessing His Resurrection. For *the Word of faith* Rom. x. 8.
which we preach, brings us to that confession. Hence our
 faith is in a man and not in Him Who is both by Nature
 and truly Son of God. For if he is true who says that he
 obtained the sonship by grace, he will be counted among

^u This is also extant, in a different translation, in Leontius Byzant. against Nestorius and Eutyches Book 3, with the title, *The same [Dioäore] from the same book [1 against the Synousiasts]*. Gallandi, Bibl. Vet. Patrum, xii. 696. see above p. 343 note q. In the fourth collation of the Council it is cited with the title, *The same Theodore, what S. Cyril put forth and answered*. t. vi. 57 Col.

Pope Vigilius likewise has it as n. 45 in his Constitutum, t. v. 1340. For *quo, whereby* it is made &c., the fourth collation gives *quia, for that*, Leontius, *et quod, and that*. The words, , to sup-
 , pose that He needs a body for perfect
 , sonship, , belong to the Apollinarian
 error which Theodore is opposing: the
 next words are those of Theodore's own
 error.

FR. AG. the multitude of sons, i. e., ourselves, to whom the grace that is from above gives the sonship whereto we were called through Jesus Christ Who is forth of the seed of David according to the flesh. And the Divine Evangelist will assure thee, saying, *But they who received Him He gave them authority to become the sons of God, to them that believe on His Name.* Then how does he who has obtained the rank of sonship given him by another, avail to give us too a grace not his but acquired and from without?

S. John
i. 12.

Ps. xl.
6—8.
LXX.

Heb. ii.
14.

S. John
i. 14.

And after a little. The SON gave Himself unto emptying and, Perfect in all things, was pleased to suffer abasement and to undergo birth according to the flesh of a woman and was called Son of Abraham and David. Thou marvellest not at so comely a plan of the Economy, yea rather thou findest fault with the Mystery: saying that the Incarnation of the Only-Begotten was a wrong, thou chidest the counsel of God the Father, thou criest out too against the Son Himself Who was pleased to suffer emptying for thy sake. When therefore thou hearest Him saying to God the Father in Heaven, *Sacrifice and offering Thou wouldst not, whole burnt sacrifices and for sin Thou requiredst not but a Body Thou completedst for Me; then I said, Lo I come (in the volume of the Book it is written of Me) to do Thy will, o God: I delight to do it;* you will say that the Son haply thought not aright of His glory. For He chose completion of the Body and that made not for other but for Himself, according to His own words, for He says, *A Body Thou completedst for Me.* Albeit thou hear Paul saying of God the Word, *Therefore because the sons partook of blood and flesh, He too likewise was made partaker of the same;* and thus the wise John writes, *And the Word was made flesh and tabernacled in us,* rise thou up against them crying out, „Be He not, in place of the thanksgiving due from „from us, wronged. God the Word was not made flesh, „God the Word was not truly partaker of blood and flesh; „He was not born as we of a woman after the flesh, He „was not called son of David. For this which is both too „petty for Him to be called and not according to His Will,

, how would He have suffered? But WE, wise sir, are THEOD.1. wont to glorify God the Father because He *completed a Body* for the Son : and we say that the Son Himself truly made flesh, i.e. man, suffered indeed emptying for our sakes, and underwent the low estate of our poverty, yet remained even thus God and Very Son of God the Father. How then did He not please to be called son of David if He were made man and that not against His will?

From the first Book of Cyril of holy memory that Christ is One against Theodore.

For there are, there are who deny their Redeemer and Lord and say that He is not true Son of God the Father Who in the last times of the age endured for our sakes birth of a woman after the flesh ; but rather that a new and late god appeared to the earth, having the glory of sonship acquired from without just like us and boasting as it were in honours not his own, so that it is just man-worship and nothing else, and some man is worshipped together with the Holy TRINITY by us and by the holy angels. These things indeed they, exceeding haughty and much-wise in the knowledge of the Divine Scriptures have inserted in their writings, and as the Lord of all says through one of the holy Prophets, *He set a snare to corrupt men.* For Jer. v. 26. what else than a snare and a stumbling-block, is a tongue uttering perverse things and counter to the sacred Scriptures and shamelessly resisting the Tradition of the Holy Apostles and Evangelists? We must therefore repudiate them who are obnoxious to such evil charges whether they are among the living or not : for from that which injures it is necessary to withdraw, and not to look to person but to what pleases God.

THE SAME

CYRIL

*FROM THE THIRD BOOK AGAINST THEODORE BISHOP OF MOPSUESTIA**which begins*

For burdensome, I suppose, are our words.

1^a

HEAR therefore from us too, Understand, O man, the depth of the Mystery, go along the straight way of the aim of the sacred Scriptures. For one thing and another is Godhead and flesh or manhood, as far as regards the plan of their properties. Since^b how has the Word being God been made as we, albeit abiding what He was? Yet grant Him His flesh by a Union inseverable, bare Him not of the Veil, for thus will you worship One Son, consubstantial with the Father Divinely, the Same consubstantial to us too humanly. To them who chuse thus to think will Christ turn the knowledge of the Mystery Himward.

2

For the nature of man which was in Christ was both honoured and hallowed. For that in regard to His Being He would neither be in need of Baptism nor of partaking

^a Of the extracts of this last book, John of Cæsarea supplies the two first, Severus in his Book against him, gives the third, a rather later syriac collection the fourth; the fifth is from a Monophysite treatise against the Nestorians, from a ninth century MS; the remainder was read before the fifth Council, except the last, a small fragment from Facundus.

^b This is also extant in Syriac, in the MS. 12156 fol. 31 v (quoted by Timothy heretical Bishop of Alexandria and the first of the heretical succession, in his "Letter to them of Constantinople a-

gainst the heretics [Eutychians] who confess not that God the Word is consubstantial with us according to the flesh, Who is consubstantial with His Father in His Godhead, and against them who say Two Natures" i. e. against the Catholics) with the title, *Blessed Cyril Archbishop of Alexandria from the second chapter against Theodore*. The Manuscript is itself of the sixth century. It commences with a writing of the same Timothy against the Council of Chalcedon.

the Holy Ghost, the fact that He is Bestower of the Spirit THEOD. 2. will be sufficient to prove.

3

S. Cyril in his second Book against Theodore of Mopsuestia,

But I think that this, viz. that of Christ alone the Saviour of all is it said by the God-inspired Scripture that He was born in the flesh, shews that being God He was made in our likeness. I mean something of this sort: For no one receives one who would say either of the all-wise Moses, or of one of the Saints that he was born in the flesh of the Jews, or of a woman: for no one has any other birth, for of flesh is flesh mother. But if Christ be said to be in the flesh of the Jews, i. e., of a woman, the addition of *in the flesh* has some wise meaning and replete with declarations of things necessary for the hearers. For in order that we may not suppose that the Nature of the Word, that is, His Godhead, had a beginning of being that It was in the flesh and of flesh, the phrase *in the flesh* must be taken cautiously and in its necessary meaning. For being God by Nature, and Very Son of God the Father, He was made in likeness of men and made His own the flesh which was of the holy Virgin.

4

for he wrote thus in his second book against Theodore,

But I would fain ask him what he says that unity of Person is. For if he says that the Only-Begotten God the Word Incarnate is One Son, One will be the Person of the SON: but if he altogether distinguish and say that One is said to be and is Son in truth, and one by grace, and to the One gives the glory and the appellation of Godhead and the bare name alone of sonship: but to the other that he receives it as from Another and a Superior, and One so exalted and in Excellency, as is God above man, what room will there be for unity of person, a thing that I know not how it is put forth by him? comp. p. 355.

S. Cyril patriarch of Alexandria against Theodore.

Since then 'it has become the own body of the Word which quickeneth all,' it too is quickening: has it not therefore ascended up above the definitions of its nature? for the Word out of God the Father has largely placed in His Body the operation of His quickening might, so that it should have power to quicken the dead and to heal the sick: just as fire approaching a vessel of brass or of other matter, changes it to its own might and working.

The same Cyril from his second book.

Ps. viii. 4. The words of Theodore. „ *What is man that Thou art*
 „ *mindful of him, or the son of man that Thou visitest him?*
 „ Let us consider then who the man is in regard to whom
 „ he is astonished and marvels that the Only-Begotten has
 „ deigned to be *mindful of* and *visit*. Yet that it is not said
 „ of every one, has been shewn above; that it is not of any
 „ one you please, this too is certain. To omit all things,
 „ let us take the Apostle's witness which is more trustwor-
 „ thy than all^c. The Apostle therefore writes to the He-
 „ brews telling of Christ and, confirming His Person which
 Heb. ii. 6, 7. „ was not well received among them, thus says, *But a cer-*
 „ *tain one somewhere testified on this wise saying, what is man*
 „ *that Thou art mindful of him, or the son of man that Thou*
 „ *visitest him? Thou loweredst him a little below the angels,*
 „ *with glory and honour Thou crownedst him and didst set*
 „ *him over the works of Thy hands; Thou didst put all things*
 „ *under his feet.* And having spoken the testimony he inter-

^c Thus far is given, in a different translation, by Leontius of Byzantium, against the Nestorians and Eutychians, book 3, in Gall. xii. 693, with the title, *The same [Theodore the heretic] from the same [book or discourse x.] i. e. of Theodore's book on the Incarnation, which was written in Theodore's earlier life (Tillemont xii. 436) against the Apollinarians and Arians in 15 Books (ib. 445, 446), see above p. 337 note a.* Leontius

in his prefatory remarks to these citations speaks of this work as hard to get a sight of. "For we hardly and with great toil and with much thought have been able to find his book against the Incarnation: for they watch carefully and take care not to communicate his books to them who are not taught in them." ubi supra, p. 690. This proves that Leontius did not get his citations second-hand.

„preting it proceeded, *But in subjecting all things He left* THEOD.2.
 „*nothing not subject : yet we see not at present all things sub-* ib. 8.
 „*jected to him.* And teaching us who the man is, since it
 „was doubtful in the words put in blessed David, he added,
 „*But we see Jesus lowered a little below the angels on account* ib. 9.
 „*of the suffering of death, crowned with glory and honour.*
 „If therefore we are taught out of the Gospels that it was
 „to the Lord that blessed David said all that are in the
 „psalm &c, both that *Thou art mindful*, and *Thou visitest*
 „and *Thou loweredst* and *Thou subjectedst*; and out of the
 „Apostle learn that it was Jesus of Whom David speaking
 „says both that He is mindful of Him and that He visited
 „Him, yea also that He subjected all things to Him, when
 „He had lowered Him a little below the Angels; cease ye
 „now at last from your shamelessness, knowing what is
 „right. For ^d ye see (O most wicked of men) how vast the
 „difference of natures in that the one is astounded for that
 „He deigns to be mindful of man and to visit him and to
 „make him partaker of the other things whereof He made
 „him partaker; the other on the contrary marvels, that
 „he hath been vouchsafed to be a partaker of so great
 „things above his nature: and the one is marvelled at as
 „bestowing a kindness and giving great things and above
 „the nature of him who obtains it; the other, obtaining
 „the kindness and receiving from Him greater things than
 „he is. „

S. CYRIL.

Be ye sober from your wine, may one cry to them who are Joel i. 5.
 thus astray. *Put, o man, a door and bolt on thy tongue*, cease Ecclus.
 lifting up your horn on high and speaking unrighteousness xxviii. 25.
 against God. How long dost thou insult Christ who endures Ps. lxxv.
 it? Keep in mind what is written by Divine Paul, *Thus* 1 Cor.
sinning against the brethren and smiting their weak conscience, viii. 12.
ye sin against Christ. And to say something out of the

^d Compare the extract quoted from the interpretation of the eighth psalm, in the fourth collation of the Council, t. vi. 50 Colet, and that from the fourth book against the ungodly Apollinarius, ib.

46; and in Leontius, book 3 against the Nestorians and Eutychians, the above, and one, the same from the fourth book against Apollinarius, Gall. xii. 696.

FR. AG
Comp.
Ezek.
xvi. 51.
1 Cor. i.
18.

prophetic books, *Sodom was justified by thee*: thou hast surpassed the talk of the pagans, which they made against Christ, deeming the Cross foolishness, thou hast shewn the charges against Jewish pride to be a nothing. Thou presumest to lower and (as far as pertains to thee) thou draggest down to dishonour Him Who sitteth in the Thrones above and together with God the Father hath the same seat. For Him Who rose from the dead is it that the most wise Paul says is sitting on the Thrones of Godhead. For he said,

Heb. viii. *We have such an High Priest Who sitteth on the Right Hand*
1.
Eph. i. 21. *of the Throne of Majesty in the highest, Who is above all*

Phil. ii.
10, 11.

princedom and power and lordship and every name that is named not only in this world but also in that to come: for to Him every knee boweth and every tongue confesseth that the Lord Jesus Christ is in the glory of God the Father. And who is He Who is in this case as being God? The same again explaineth who is the priest of His Mysteries: for he said that He emptied Himself, was made in likeness of man and found in fashion as a man and abased Himself made obedient unto death, yea the death of the Cross. Every knee therefore of heavenly and earthly and neath the earth bendeth to Him Who bare the Cross: Whom the adversary casting into the mere and alone measures of the human nature, says was accounted worthy of mindfulness and visiting from God the Word, when surely he ought to know and mind that God the Word was not another Son apart and by Himself from Him who is (as he says) man of the seed of David; but God the Word Himself out of God the Father was made as we, i. e. man, did not rather deem worthy of visiting and mindfulness some other than He.

ib. 7, 8.

And out of the same book.

THEODORE.

„Will they now cease from their shameless contest?
„will they give over empty contention blushing before the
„proof of what has been said? for he said, *Bringing many*
„*sons unto glory.* Lo therefore the Apostle co-numbering

Heb. ii.
10.

„in the rank of sonship with the rest the man that was THEOD.2.
 „assumed not for that he partakes of sonship in like man-
 „ner as they, but in regard that he assumed in like man-
 „ner the grace of sonship, the Godhead alone possessing
 „sonship by Nature^e. For it is certain that the glory of
 „sonship is in him specially beyond others on account of
 „the Unity that he has with Him. Whence in the very
 „word too that means Son, he too is in like manner in-
 „cluded. But they^f argue with us, If ye say two things
 „perfect, we shall surely be also saying Two sons. But lo
 „he is called son too by himself in the divine Scripture,
 „without the Godhead, co-numbered with the rest of men,
 „and we do not say Two sons. But One Son there rightly
 „is in our confession, seeing that division of natures must
 „needs remain and union of person be kept indissoluble.

CYRIL.

Fie the madness! He knew not the manifold depth of
 the mystery of Christ who has trusted in words so cold and
 childish. But that he no wise understandeth the force of
 the Scripture proposed, but leaveth the right way and goes
 off again to the wicked aim put forth by himself, we forth-
 with teach. For that before all things his aim is, to want
 to prove that a mere man is co-seated with the Father and
 to be worshipped as God by every creature, himself shall
 come in as witness. For numbering Him with those who
 are sons by grace and the multitude of men, he argues that
 the Godhead of the Word has alone the glory of true son-
 ship, all but finding fault with Him Who for our sakes
 was pleased to suffer emptying: or haply even casting his
 own base madness on the disciple who says, *And the Word* S. John
 i. 14.

^e Thus far is cited in the fourth col-
 lation of the Council, as *from the inter-
 pretation of the Epistle to the Hebrews*,
 t. vi. 57 Col., also by Pope Vigilius, t.
 v. 1341: the whole passage by Leontius
 of Byzantium, against the Nestorians
 and Eutychians, with the title, *from the
 same [twelfth] Book*, i. e. on the Incar-
 nation. Gall. xii. 694.

accused their opponents of holding two
 sons, see S. Gregory's complaint of it,
 below p. 363; Theodore's (who was ac-
 cused of it with real reason), above p.
 337, note a and here. The objection it-
 self is stated in S. Athanasius against
 Apollinarius, that two perfects can-
 not make one whole, see below p. 363
 note b.

^f they, i. e. the Apollinarians, who

FR. AG. *was made flesh.* We must know therefore that although he somewhere says one and not rather two sons, casting out altogether him who (as he says) is of the seed of David from being God and Son, he refers the glory of true sonship to only God the Word Who is forth of God the Father. This is nought else (as I said) than not to take on Him the measure of human nature, but utterly to destroy the Economy whereby we were both saved and have passed from death and sin and have laid down the yoke of the devil's oppression.

Theodore from the same book.

„ Let none be deceived by the craft of the questionings.
 Heb. xii. 1. „ For it were a wicked thing to put down *so great a crowd*
 „ *of witnesses* (as the Apostle said) and, deceived by cunning
 „ questionings, to join the side of the opponents. But what
 „ are the questions which they artfully ask? ‘Is Mary
 „ mother of man or God’s mother?’ and, ‘Is He Who was
 „ crucified, God or man?’ But of that there has been a
 „ clear solution in these things which we have said before
 „ in the replies which were made to the questions: never-
 „ theless let that be said even now which one ought to
 „ briefly reply in order that no occasion be left them for
 „ their cunning. When^g therefore they ask, ‘Is Mary
 „ mother of man or God’s mother?’ let answer be made
 „ them, Both; one from the nature of the thing, the other
 „ by reference. For she is mother of man by nature, be-
 „ cause he was man in the womb of Mary, who also pro-
 „ ceeded thence: but mother of God because God was in
 „ the man who was born, not circumscribed within him by
 „ Nature, but in him in the affection of the will. Hence
 „ it is right to reply, Both, but not in like wise. For not
 „ as man took in the womb a beginning of his being, did
 „ God the Word too, for He was before every creature.
 „ Hence it is right that both be said, each according to their
 „ proper notion.

^g From here down to, *in the affection of the will* is cited in the fourth collation (vi. 57 Colet) as *from the twelfth book on the Incarnation*, and by Pope Vigilius

in his Constitution (v. 1340): also by Leontius, as *from the fifteenth book*, i. e. on (or as Leontius calls it *against*) the Incarnation. Gall. xii. 695.

„The same answer is to be made if they ask, ‘ Was God THEOD. 2.
„crucified or man?’ Both, but not in like wise: for the
„one was crucified, as both undergoing the Passion and
„fastened to the wood and holden of the Jews; the other
„because He was with him after the reason given above.,,

And forthwith he goes on adding hereto that man having
God indwelling him was crucified.

S. CYRIL.

What are you saying, o mighty man? was the holy Vir- comp.
gin mother of God because God was in what was born of Ps. lii. 1.
her, indwelling in mere good-pleasure of the will? dost
thou call that union? then when the Word being God
makes His habitation in ourselves too (for He dwells in
the souls of the saints through the Holy Ghost), dost thou
confess that in like wise ourselves too have union with Him?
Where then will any one see the marvel of the mystery of
Christ? For so long as God the Word is believed to have
been made man as we, truly marvellous is the Mystery and
one will wonder at it deservedly and intensely ^h; but if He
be said to dwell in a man in mere good-pleasure of the will,
the fact of the economy has another plan. For we have
been vouchsafed, as I said, grace of this kind, who are re-
splendent with the faith Him-ward. For no one, I suppose,
will say that not of His own will is He within us; rather
of His own will, i. e. after His own inherent will had He
good-pleasure towards us.

Yet neither do we say that God the Word Who is con-
substantial with the Father, has the beginning of His Be-
ing from the flesh of the holy Virgin ⁱ (for with Him was
He ever existent), but rather we know that He was made
man as we.

Therefore rightly will the holy Virgin be called by us
Mother of God rather than mother of man, since surely
‘ she hath borne Christ according to the flesh.’

^h see above Scholia §§ 19, 20, pp. 208, 209; also de Recta fide to Arcadia and Marina p. 72 c d 122 e.

ⁱ see Nestorius urging that this would

follow if the holy Virgin were to be called Mother of God, and S. Cyril's reply in Book 1 § 1 against Nestorius, above pp. 7—10.

FR. AG. *And after more.* For when this was put forth for explanation, viz. *When He bringeth in the First-Begotten into the world, He saith, And let all the Angels of God worship Him,* he writes again thus,

THEODORE.

„Who then is He Who is brought in into the world „and commences His reign, wherefrom it results that He „is also worshipped by the Angels? For one will not „madly say that God the Word was brought in Who made „all things when they were not, bestowing on them through „His unspeakable might that they should be.,

S. CYRIL.

Callest thou it then madness, to chuse to think aright and to keep in mind the true and right and unmixed Faith? since surely one would say and that deservedly that they are words full of impiety which deny that the Only-Begotten Word of God was brought in by God the Father into the world when He was made man. For He Who by Nature and diversity is superior to all, seeing He is their Creator and is Essentially as greatly superior to them, as is the thing made less than its Maker, entered into the world when He was made a part of it^k, in that He appeared man.

And after a little. But I marvel that the opponent should have written that Jesus too would never have been accounted worthy of connection with God the Word had He not first been rendered spotless through the anointing. For first of all he is openly severing and distinguishing, saying outright Two sons: next let him say, when He was (as he terms it) made spotless and attained connection with God the Word, was it from the very womb, or when, in His thirtieth year, He came to the Jordan and sought John's baptism? If He were holy from the womb, how

^k See above, pp. 52, 92, 189, also p. 324 note c, where S. Athanasius speaks of the great dread on the part of the Apollinarians as to the Incarnate SON being in any way "a part of the world."

does he say that He was made holy and not rather that He THEOD. 2. was so? For in that He is said to be made so, it is quite necessary to understand that He was not what He was made. But if He were holy always, and was not so made in time, how does he say that the SPIRIT soared down upon Him and shewed that He was worthy of the connection and added to Him what He lacked? For this too he has put in his other books. For what was it that was at all lacking to Him unto sanctification from the very womb, yea rather see above, p. 327 and before Birth after the flesh, to Him Who is holy and spotless and sanctifieth the creature? When therefore he says that Jesus would not have been counted worthy of connection with God the Word except He had first been rendered spotless, he is indicting very many accusations against his empty talk. For first of all he unbecomingly says, *been counted worthy*: next he severs into another son apart Him Who is forth of the seed of David, whom he shamelessly maintains is called JESUS apart by Himself. Further, to say that He was *made spotless*, as if at one time He were not so, this too has very great blasphemy. For God the Word united from the very womb to His own flesh was One Son and thus also *spotless*, the Holy of holies, and giving of *His fulness* the SPIRIT not only to men but also S. John i. 16. to the rational powers above and in Heaven.

And after a little,

THEODORE.

„*Manifoldly and in many modes of old spake God to the* Heb. i. 1.
 „*fathers in the Prophets, in these last days He spake to us in*
 „*His SON.* For through the Son He spake to us: and it is
 „clear that he is speaking of the man¹ who was assumed.
 „*For to which of the Angels ever said He, My Son* THOU art, Ib. 5.
 „*I to day begat thee?* None, he says, hath He made par-
 „taker of the Son's dignity. For in this that He said, *I*
 „*begat Thee,* He gave as it were through it a participation

¹ These few first words are cited by Leontius of Byzantium, Book 3 against the Nestorians and Eutychians, with the title, *the same from the same* [*twelfth book on the Incarnation*]. Gall. xii. 694.

FR. AG. „of sonship, yet this which has been said is openly shewn
 „to have nothing at all to do with God the Word.,,

S. CYRIL.

Verily in his discourses too which he made to them who were to be baptized, the same Theodore again said, „But
 „this testimony we found not out of our ownelves, but
 „were taught it out of the Divine Scripture, seeing that
 Rom. ix. 5. „blessed Paul thus saith, *Forth of whom is Christ after the
 „flesh Who is God over all*, not that He is forth of the Jews
 „and according to the flesh Who is God over all, but he
 „used the one term to point out the human nature, which
 „he knew was of the stock of Israel, the other to shew the
 „Divine Nature which he knew was over all and king of
 „all^m.,,

Isa. xlii. 18. *Hear ye deaf and see ye blind*, cried aloud one of the
 saints to them of the blood of Israel: but *I* think, and de-
 servedly, that this belongs to them who have not, or who
 2 Cor. iv. 4. will not understand aright the mystery of Christ. For *the
 god of this world hath blinded the understandings of the unbe-
 lievers*, and they, not having the Divine and intellectual light
 in heart and mind, have deservedly gone astray. But if
 some who are somehow or other holden in like diseases,
 i. e. bap- have been enlightened, yea rather even co-numbered with
 tized the Doctors, what else will one cry to them than this which
 Hos. v. 1, has been said by God through one of the holy Prophets, *For
 2. LXX. ye are become a snare of a watchtower in your visitation and
 as nets spread out in a propⁿ which the hunters have pierced
 through?* For they who ought to be of the greatest profit
 to those under them, they have been a snare and a net and
 a stumbling block and pitfall of hades. And thus I say
 marvelling exceedingly and unable to see whereunto tends
 the opponent's aim. For he confessed in plain terms that

^m In the fourth collation of the Council, are seven citations of Theodore from his book to them that are to be baptized, viz, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 41, 42 (t. vi. 55 Col.), but none of these are identical with the one here quoted by S. Cyril.

ⁿ *statumine*. I do not know how the Latin translator got this word, nor what

meaning he attached to it. The Hebrew has *Tabor*, which the LXX. here translate *ἱραβύριον*, and so S. Cyril quotes the verse elsewhere: but he knew its meaning, for in his commentary on the words, he says that it is a very conspicuous mountain in Galilee.

God the Father spake to us through the Son, yet says that THEOD. 2.
that Son is the man who was assumed, who has no share above p.
with God the Word in regard to what was said. How 360.
therefore is not the slander against the blessed Paul, yea
rather the accusal of the Truth itself manifest to all? for
not thus did the Apostle who *has the Holy Ghost* under- 1 Cor. vii.
stand it. But the opponent is again turning aside right 40.
doctrine to his own pleasure.

From the second book of Cyril Bishop of Alexandria that One is Christ
against Theodore.

That the ungodly Nestorius desired to follow the doc-
trines of Theodore, does not acquit him, rather it will thence
work a deeper charge against him. For when he might
have taken hold of the right words and spotless discourses
of the holy Fathers on the Godhead, he thinks fit to prefer
a lie to the truth. For he let alone what was theirs, he
chose rather to cleave to what was base and to delight him
in such perverted words. That this man therefore who
hath such aim and madness, should have leapt down here-
to, one may I think blame him and deservedly. For he
ought, he ought to have remembered the most holy Paul
who clearly writes to us, *Be ye wise money-changers, prove* 1 Thes. v.
all things, hold fast that which is good, keep ye from every 21, 22.
kind of evil. Which thing we, wont to do and hastening to
imitate assayers of coin, repudiate those base and counter-
feit doctrines, and receive full-gladly all which shine forth
with the clear beauty of truth. But again let our argument
turn the way befitting it and set before it. There have
been writ therefore by good Theodore against the heresy
of the Arians and Eunomians about twenty books or more ;
besides others interpreting the Gospel and Apostolic books :
toils which none would have wished to find fault with, yea see below,
rather would have honoured the zeal with his approval, if p. 376.
soundness of doctrine had been in them °. But if one walk

° I do not know by what error in translation misled, Facundus Bishop of Hermaeum in Africa (in his Defence of the Three Chapters addressed to the Emperor Justinian just before the fifth Council) takes this to be, *And these toils no one has dared to blame but to honour with vote of approval the zeal for right*

FRAGM. outside of the appointed road, and leaving the right way of truth, go a crooked path and wound the hearts of the more simple, casting therein seeds of perverted understanding, then it will not be without damage for them who are over the people to rest herein, but they will have their reward and gain if they withstand [him]. Hence since in these books or writings which we mentioned above of the man spoken of, have been found certain things full of the uttermost impiety, how would it be congruous to choose to be silent? for he severs the inseverable Christ and, in place of One Son, he honours a duality falling away from truth and as it were tinted with false names. For he says that God the Word Who is forth of God the Father was called man, yet not that He was so made in truth: the man, Him who is of Mary (as he speaks) whom too he in many places cleverly calls flesh¹, he says was called indeed God and Son of God, not that He is so in truth.

¹ see
above,
of Dio-
dore p.
328.

But^p Paul a workman exceeding wise to bring in the Divine Mysteries sometimes brings in to manifest the Mystery of Christ even things which are said by some in Divine Scripture, of other people. Yet he does not separate them from the persons of whom we know that they were said, nor yet does he transfer all that is theirs^a to Christ, but sometimes takes even some very little bit, which he can without risk skilfully transfer to his purpose.

doctrines that is in them. Facundus repeats this three times, book iii. § 3, and 5, book viii. § 6. Gall. xi. 692, 696, 753, and in the latter place urges the extract as a reason why S. Cyril was not the writer of the books against Theodore. Facundus' work being addressed to the Emperor Justinian, would of course be not utterly unknown to the Council; this present extract is introduced in their acts as ordered to be recited because some laid stress on the word 'good Theodore,' as if S. Cyril were praising him, in order that the context might shew if it were so: after the recital, "the holy Synod said, 'The things recited shew that Cyril of religious memory blaming

rather Theodore and his wicked writings, not as implying praise, used such words.' " t. vi. 90 Colet.

^p This extract is preserved by the above mentioned Facundus (book iii. § 6 in Gall. xi. 698) who says that the author of the work [against Diodore and Theodore] treats of a section in which the Apostle says to the Hebrews, *For not to the Angels hath He subjected the world to come &c.*

^a S. Cyril himself who enjoys so much adapting Old Testament events as types of Christ and His Church, says that some things in the history belong to the history itself.

THE SAME

CYRIL

FROM HIS TREATISE ^a AGAINST THE SYNOUSIASTS ^b

of which the beginning is —

A long discourse has already been made by us.

^a The opening fragment of this Treatise has been preserved to us by the fifth General Council, those that follow by John Bishop of Caesarea in Palestine, in his Defence of the Council of Chalcedon, of the two last fragments, the former is in Severus' treatise against John, the latter in a later collection. Bishop John heads his citations from S. Cyril: "Divers citations of Cyril Archbishop of Alexandria wherein one may find the difference of the Two Natures proclaimed by him and that God the Word is Impassible and Immortal, the Temple passible and mortal." The ms. containing Bishop John's fifteen citations from this treatise numbers them, 77—90 (91 is a passage from the Glaphyra), while the citations from the 3 books against Diodore and Theodore are numbered 181—196. This led to these fragments being placed first in the edition of S. Cyril's works, following the order of Bishop John's citations. But the present treatise is not purely against the Synousiasts or Apollinarians, though it cites their objections, in something of the same way as S. Athanasius does: but against the Apollinarians with a reference to the previous labours, not free from error, of Diodore and Theodore; see the commencement and the 17th fragment, cited by Severus and the words with which Severus introduces it, below p. 376. See too above p. 335 fragment 27 against Diodore, which may really belong to this book, not to that. I have then no doubt that the present treatise is the one on the Incarnation which Liberatus refers to. He says, "Cyril as reports go, wrote 4 books, three against Diodore and Theodore as authors of Nestorian dogma and another book on the Incarnation, wherein are contained genuine testimonies of old Fathers, i.e., Felix Pope of Rome, Dionysius Bishop of Corinth and the marvellous Gregory called the Wonderworker. And though in the Books the words of Theodore against the Arians are cited yet they maintain that he was

Nestorius' master." Liberatus, Breviarium, cap. x. in Gallandi xii. 134. The opening paragraph of this Treatise, "A long discourse has already been made &c", shews that it was written after the books against Diodore and Theodore.

^b S. Athanasius, after having spent all his life in combats and sufferings for the Truth against Arianism; had, in the close of his days, to oppose the mad errors of the Apollinarians or Synousiasts. Their chief errors are stated thus by S. Athanasius in the opening of his first book against Apollinarius; "but these either fancy a change of the Word or suppose that the Economy of the Passion is a semblance; one while saying that the flesh of Christ is Uncreate and heavenly, other while, that it is consubstantial with the Godhead. Next they say that in place of the man that is within in ourselves [i. e. the inner man] there was an heavenly mind in Christ; for He used as an instrument the form which envelops Him, for it was impossible that He should be Perfect man: for where perfect man is, there too is sin, also that two perfects cannot make one whole." Against Apollinarius lib. i. § 2. t. i. 923. See extracts of his two books against them, above p. 324 note c. S. Athanasius exposes the chief points of their misbelief more succinctly in his famous Letter to Epictetus, Bishop of Corinth. S. Gregory of Nazianzum, the contemporary of S. Athanasius had to contend with them in his very midst (see Tillemont's life of him, Art. 88 t. 9. pp. 515 sqq. ed. 2) and as Tillemont points out, to bear their accusation that he divided into Two the One Son ("Next they accuse me as though I introduced two natures separated or opposed, and divided the Super-natural and marvellous Union, when I ought either not to do what they accuse me of, or not to accuse them of what they do," second Letter to Cleodnius, near the end, t. i. 749 ed. 1609). Under these circumstances S. Gregory both opposes the Apollinarians, and ex-

FR. AG.

1

A ^c LONG exposition has already been wrought out by us, who desire to strive for the doctrines of the truth. For it everywhere sets forth One Lord Jesus Christ, Who proceeded forth God the Word out of God the Father Divinely, out of a woman humanly and after the flesh. And let no one say, who has a mind witting how to view each several thing, that I have been borne savagely down on them who have not such faith, seeing that a sort of sorrow sometimes invites hereto, sorrow I mean in regard to them whom we have contradicted. For the fact itself has its proof^d, not an idle excuse. For they¹ indeed are already dead and departing from human affairs, have gone to another life; and it is utter folly in enmity to insult not the living

¹ i.e. Diodore and Theodore

presses himself with that accuracy on the Incarnation that his words are cited before the Council of Ephesus as contradicting Nestorius' teaching. He says, "If any suppose that Mary is not mother of God, he is external to the Godhead. If any say that He passed through the Virgin as through a channel, and not that He has been formed in her Divinely alike and humanly, Divinely because without a man, humanly because by the law of bringing forth, he likewise is godless. If any say that the man was formed, that God then entered Him he is condemned; for no Generation of God would this be, but a shunning of birth. If any introduce two sons, one Him who is out of God the Father, the other him who is forth of his mother and not One and the same, may he fall away from the sonship which is promised to them that believe aright. [This will illustrate the strenuous efforts which Diodore Theodore and Nestorius made to persuade themselves that they were not really saying two sons.] For two natures are God and man, as also soul and body, not two sons nor two gods. For neither are there with us two men, even though Paul so spoke of the inner part of man and the outward. And to speak briefly, one thing and other (*ἕλλο μὲν καὶ ἕλλο*) are that whereof the Saviour is, seeing that the invisible is not the same as the visible, and the apart from time with the subject to time, not one and other (*ἕλλο δὲ καὶ ἕλλο*), not so; for Both are One in commixture (*ἐν τῇ συγκράσει*), God made-man, man-made-God, or how-

ever we are to call it. I say 'one thing and other' in contrast to how it is in the TRINITY: for there it is One and Other (*ἕλλο καὶ ἕλλο*) that we confound not the Persons, it is not one thing and other (*ἕλλο δὲ καὶ ἕλλο*), for in the Godhead the Three are One and the same Thing." first Letter to Cleodnius t. i. 738 d 739 a b cited in the council of Ephesus among the authorities which Peter priest of Alexandria and protonotary read out of a collection that he had. S. Cyril, as having drunk in and made his own the teaching of the Fathers which were before him in all his writings speaks expressly of One Christ, and that by Union, the Word remaining Word and the Flesh flesh: see the citation from the seventh Paschal homily (A.D. 420) p. 227 note m, and again p. 233 note z; in the latter place S. Cyril guards against Apollinarian error, in the former against both that, and the parting into Two the Incarnate Son, which the Apollinarians charged their opponents with doing.

^c From the fifth Collation of the fifth General Council, after S. Cyril's Letters to John of Antioch, Acacius of Melitine, and the Emperor (t. vi. 101 Col.). I had overlooked it but it is pointed out by the indefatigable Tillemont.

^d I have adopted from the margin of the Concilia the reading *convictionem* which they give as the reading of the Paris Manuscript, i.e. Biblioth. Imperial. Lat. 16832, formerly belonging to Notre Dame: the Beauvais manuscript also agrees with it.

but them who are now dead. Nevertheless since the Truth SYNOUS.
is dear to the lovers of right doctrine, and it needs befits
them to say the truth and to be practised in the power of
resisting them who are wont to utter vain things, I thought
I ought, seeing that a countless multitude of brethren have
suffered no slight harm from what Diodore Bishop of
Tarsus and he who was Bishop of Mopsuestia, the most
eloquent Theodore, have written of Christ the Lord and
Saviour of us all, to say some few things on what they said
and to point out to readers the hideousness of the track of
both.

2

Since then some stumble and imagine to themselves a
change of the Word into blood and flesh, let them be laughed
at as beside themselves and let us say to them, *Wake up* Joel i. 5.
ye drunkards from their wine, and let us examine of what
kind is the nature of the flesh, and be ye diligent to think,
of what kind again is that of God Who is over all. For
unbounded is the interval, and with reason may one say
that to venture to compare them at all is not free from
responsibility. For the One is by Nature God and Lord
of all, Light and Life and Glory and moreover Power, the
other is what every body who lives among men knows.
When then any affirm that there has taken place a change
of the Word into this earthly body, or that the Word being
God framed to Himself out of His own Essence, a body of
the same nature as our bodies, let them confess first that
He ceased to be what He is (He was, as I said, God and
Creator, Life and Light, Glory and Power) and let them
moreover affirm that to endure the liability to slip ² that be- ² τὸν ὕλη-
σθον
longs to things generate is not alien to Him and that to be
conversant with a worse condition than that wherein He is,
is not untried by Him.

Yet I think one ought to investigate what it is that
thrust Him down hereto: was it some necessity and tyranny
of passion falling on Him? yet how is it not distraction that
any should suppose this so to be? for where is the greater

FR. AG. than He and that is able to overpass His Nature^c? since how Phil. ii. 9. is God *the Name that is above every name* and Lord of Hosts? But it is not necessity (they will haply say) but that a change of His own choice invited Him hereto. But it were impossible that He should suffer this too: for how should the Divine and Untaint Nature make ought that befitted Him not, His choice?

3

But haply they will say in their folly that the Word being God changed into flesh yet not the whole nor altogether: albeit how is it not an evident proof of utter madness, to think and say that these things are so? for first of all to say that not wholly nor yet altogether did He change or undergo *turning* pertains to those who mete Him and represent Him as quantified³ and no longer incorporeal, yea and capable of being conceived of as in space and as become circumscribed. Next how must not the opponents consider this too, that whatever a part of a body subject to the Word suffer, this full surely the whole too will in possibility suffer? (for suffering would not befall one of the parts, unless the nature of the whole body were susceptible of suffering). Hence seeing that the test of their ideas compels us even against our wills to advance to words we would not, beseeching the Word of God to pardon us we say this: that if it is true that He possesseth not the being beyond *turning* neither is the suffering it impossible to Him, the force of the blasphemy will full surely reach both to the Father Himself and to the Holy Ghost, for Consubstantial is the Holy and untaint Trinity. And then what stability look we for in God as to our own case if He too is weak as we and undergoes commotion unto what is not lawful to say, Mal. iii. 6. albeit we heard Him say in plain terms, *Behold I am and have not been changed*, the Divinely-uttering Psalmist too

cf.
S. James
i. 17.
³ πεποσ-
ωμένον

^c The Greek is εἰ γὰρ ἔστι τὸ μείζον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν πλεονεκτῆσαι δυνάμενον, where εἰ looks like an error. The Greek mss. which have preserved us these pieces are late mss. of

the 16th century, and contain traces of manuscriptal slips: and we do not know the exact words of the syriac translation which is preserved at Rome.

says that *the Heavens are the works of Thy Hands: they shall perish but THOU abidest and all of them shall wax old as a garment and as a covering shalt Thou fold them and they shall be changed, but THOU art the Same and Thy years shall not fail?* Consider therefore that he who *in spirit* ^{SYNOUS. Ps. cii. 25—27.} *speaketh mysteries* and is God-taught flings *turning to the* ^{1 Cor. xiv. 2.} nature of things generate, saying by way of illustration or demonstration that the heavens shall wax old, and hath reserved Immutability to the God Who is over all, for he hath testified to Him Ever-being and unchangeableness.

And as it has been believed to be impossible that the Nature of the Word should change into what it was not, so can it not be that the generate pass into the nature of God-head, lest many of Its attributes be seen to be accidents, which if it advanced so far as idea alone would have the charge of blasphemy indelible. For if ought of things generate at all change into the Godhead by Nature, one would not miss of right reasoning if one should chuse to say that It out of things that are not comes into existence and obtains that which is not its, as a sort of material ⁴ of Its ⁴ ἕλην ὥσπερ τινὰ being, and that the body became the substance of incorporeal Essence, tangible and visible of the Invisible and Untangible. And if the Father's Only-Begotten Word is by Nature Life as being of the Father Who is Life, and by change hath admitted unto consubstantiality (as they say) that which is of the human lump ⁵, there is great fear lest ⁵ φυράματος we say that He is not unmixed ⁶ life, for He is not unmingled ⁶ τὸς καθαρῶς with what is apt to decay.

In another way too does the opinion of the deceived ones battle with the Economy with flesh: how, we will say. The Lord being God appeared to us that He might destroy the decay which lorded it over us, not that Himself might exhibit His own Nature partaker with decay by immingling with Himself flesh subject to death.

The charge therefore is of equal force, whether one say that the Word of God have been turned into the nature of body or whether that the flesh again is transformed into consubstantiality with God. It is fit therefore that we keep

FR. AG. away from both one and other, seeing that it is not with-
 Rom. xii. out peril to chuse to think *beside what one ought to think.*
 3.

4

That we may believe that even though His holy and all-
⁷ *ὁμοφύης* pure Body be of same nature⁷ with our bodies, it is never-
 theless august and Divine and far above our measures, as
 having been made His own, for He hath wrought through
 it, therefore was it called also *bread of life*, yea verily it is
 S. John vi. 33. said both to have *come down from Heaven and to give life*
to the world because of the Word that came down from
 above and out of Heaven, whose very own too the flesh has
 been made. Hence Divine it is (as I said), yet may one
 not surmise if indeed he have a mind well-established and
 that is versed in skill of dogma, that it has changed into
 the nature of the Godhead. For to the Nature that is Su-
 preme and above all must be rigidly preserved Simplicity
 and absence of blending with other and of any appearance
 of being compounded in what belongs to It or of lacking
 any addition and coming into fellowship of sameness of
 nature or consubstantiality with ought unconnatural to It.

For come let us with acute eye of the understanding in-
 vestigate the idea of the confusers. They say that His
 Flesh has been changed (I know not how) into consubstan-
 tiality with God the Word. Why? or what is it that brings
 it thereto? For of its own self it has not the impulse that
 would bring it thereto, and of its natural motions to admit
 such desires is foreign to it. It remains then to say this,
 that it was brought hereto by the will of God the Word.
 Did He then cast away the Economy which He clearly
 deemed worthy of all account by reason of His inherent
 Clemency and the Pleasure of His Father? for one may
 hear Him say clearly through the psalmist's voice, *Sacrifice*
and offering Thou wouldest not, whole burnt-offerings and for
sin Thou delightedst not in, but a Body Thou perfectedst Me,
then I said, Lo, I come (in the volume of the Book it has been
written of Me) to do, O God, Thy Will: I delight to do it.

Ps. xli.
 6—8
 LXX.

The sacrifices therefore (those I mean according to the Law SYNOUS: of Moses) were unwilling by the Father, the Incarnation of the Word or His being made Man, was rather His Choice inasmuch as it brings in the grace that is through faith to those beneath the sky, His Clemency and God-befitting gentleness making a marvellous demonstration of Itself.

What plea will there be for daring to say that He cast off (as I just now said) the august and saving Economy, if so be it be true that He put off from Him the being flesh, having changed it into the Nature of Godhead, albeit the all-wise Paul hath written of His holy Body, *For wherein* Heb. ii. 18. *He hath suffered He is able to succour the tempted?* But if we take away that *wherein He hath suffered*, with it surely will go too the means of succour given to us. For the saying that the flesh changed into the Essence of Deity, belongs to those who take from it the being what it is; which if it be admitted to be true, no longer will it be thought or said to be flesh. Since *what* is the change, if it have remained what it is? What profit therefore is there to our bodies from being partakers of the Mystic and holy offering? ⁷ *δαροφo-ρίας* or what is the benefit therefrom? for if the Word who is united thereto willed to transform it into His own Nature, why is He found saying to us, *I am the bread of Life which* S. John vi. 48, 33. *came down from Heaven and giveth life to the world and the bread which I will give is My Flesh which I will give for the life of the world, and again, He that eateth My Flesh and* ib. 56. *drinketh My Blood abideth in Me and I in him?*

Hence if the flesh have passed into what it was not, darting up or borne up by the Will of the Word into a position above its own nature, it is time (it seems) that we ourselves too should make after other sort the power of the mystery and follows what pleases him [who thus teaches].

5

Therefore you have the confession of the Incarnation of the Only-Begotten, from which also our faith is True. But if (as our opponents say) the Word united thereto, put off His Flesh, changing it into His own Nature, the change of

FR. AG. the Flesh and the confession of our saving Faith will (it seems) come to an end together, and with it surely ceased
 cf. 1 Cor. the justification too that is through it, we *are yet in* our
 xv. 17. sins, the filth of our old offences is still not cast away.

6

If He have ceased from being as we, i.e. man, together with being also above us Divinely, the foundation of our salvation has been shaken, we unawares returned (it seems) to have to be again lorded over by death and sins. For as when the nethermost foundations of house (it may be) or wall have been shaken, the superincumbent parts too will surely subside with them: thus if the Economy with flesh of the Only-Begotten be not firm, our condition surely has tottered with it and grown weak at last; and how, we will say. For if they say that the Flesh of the Word have been changed into the Nature of the Godhead, there is every need to conceive that He has otherwise departed from His will to be son of man: then how does the all-wise

¹ Tim. ii. Paul say, *For there is one God, One Mediator too of God and*
 5, 6. *men, the Man Christ Jesus Who gave Himself a ransom for us? For He mediates as being the Same, God alike and Man, reconciling us to God the Father through Himself*

⁸ συνελρων and in Him and conjoining⁸ as it were unto union things
⁹ ἐτερό- by their own nature parted unto generic difference⁹ by a
 τητα, dif-
 ference of
 genus boundless parting, yet in Christ did they come together unto an union without confusion and that cannot be pluck-

¹ συνήπ-
 ται ed asunder: for He has been connected¹ Divinely with the
² συνήφθη Father, and He was connected² with us too humanly. Thus
 is *the Man Christ Jesus* conceived to be and is our Mediator. But if the Flesh has been really (as he says) cast away by Him, He is gone surely away from mediating between us and His own Father: how therefore do we yet approach Him? who any longer brings us or mediates? For the Divine Paul said that the Mediator is Man: we remember

S. John Christ also Himself saying, *No man cometh to the Father*
 xiv. 6. *except through Me.* Idle talk therefore and words full of distraction³ are the inventions of the Synousiasts.

³ απο-
 πληξίας

The Son of man when He cometh shall He find Faith on the earth? For come let us ask our opponents what sort of faith the Son of man when He comes down out of Heaven would find in them who are on the earth, or how He would have us minded regarding Him: that He has left willing to be son of man, or that He has remained in the likeness usward? though how can one doubt that if it were displeasing to Him to be conceived of as being yet as we are, how were it meet to say, *The Son of man when He comes shall He find Faith on the earth*, and not rather The Word of God bare⁴ and without flesh when He comes, ⁴ γυμνός will He find of such sort the faith concerning Him among them on the earth? But since He clearly and manifestly calls Himself Son of man even at the time of His arrival from Heaven, it is I suppose clear that not having changed His Flesh into ought else but rather having it glorified, incorruptible and spotless and adorned with *light unapproachable* [will He come]: for He will come down out of Heaven, ^{1 Tim. vi. 16.} not in His former low estate (whence should He?) but in *the glory of His Father with the Holy Angels.* ^{S. Matth. xvi. 27.}

If, His Flesh changed into the Nature of the Godhead, He ceased to be Son of man too, clear would it be to every one henceforth that we too have lost the boast of sonship, as no longer having a *First-born among many brethren.* ^{Rom. viii. 29.}

He is seen not trans-elementing into the Nature of Godhead that which is unalterably and without confusion flesh, but rather will He rightly be conceived of as adorning it with His own glory and filling it with God-befitting dignities: thus will He be seen in His season by them who are

[†] See this text commented on by S. Cyril at the end of his Treatise de recta fide to the Princesses Arcadia and Mariana, and again near the close of his Treatise on the same subject, to the Emperresses, § 42, p. 178 d e.

- FR. AG. on the whole earth, on His return from Heaven. And verily when having accomplished full well the mystery of the Economy with flesh, He had gone up into Heaven, even though they who saw it had wondered at the thing
- Acts i. 9. *(for a cloud received Him, as it is written): to them who then marvelled one of the holy Angels addressed him,*
- ib. 11. *Men of Galilee why stand ye looking into Heaven? this Man Who was received up from you into Heaven shall thus come again as ye saw Him go into Heaven. Did therefore they who were addressed see the very Word apart from the flesh going up to the Father? or [did they see Him] having cast away the likeness to us and not in a tangible and visible but transfashioned rather into one intangible and invisible? who dares to say this? If He shall so come as He also went up, how is it not true to say that He shall come again embodied and not bare and fleshless Word?*

10

- Phil. iii. 21. The all-wise Paul hath written of Christ, *Who shall transfashion the body of our low estate conformed to the body of His glory.* Then what will they say to this who say that His flesh changed into the Nature of the Word? will the bodies of the saints too pass by a change into the Nature of Godhead that they too may become *conformed to the body of His glory?* yet how is this not a frigid speech⁵ replete with the uttermost unlearning? for when the flesh is wholly changed (as he says) into the Nature of Godhead, what body will the Word being God use? For somewhat unembodied is Godhead, and it is true that *No one hath ever seen God.*
- ⁵ ψυχρολογία
- S. John i. 18.

11

But haply they will say that the Flesh did not wholly depart from being what it was, but that it was as it were immingled with God the Word unto a natural oneness. And what do we say to this? First of all, sirs, there is full much difficulty, the reasoning hereon will be weak if

ye decide to retain to the Nature of the Word Its un- SYNOUS.
changeable Being and unalterable Existence (for in no
wise will it change unto what it was not): either when it
has suffered this It has been shaken from Its God-befit-
ting stability and from the settledness that is inherent in
it by Nature, or howsoever one calls it: but I think that
it is wise that we should in no wise be able to conceive
that ought of things that are could abide in the Nature of
the Godhead: for this too is likewise impossible.

Yet if they are well off in examples that can persuade
that in commingling and mixture of things mentioned the
inherent property of either will be wholly imparticipate of
the quality of the other, let them bring forward their ex-
amples: for we say that the name *com-mixture* ⁶ will in no ⁶ συγκρά-
σεως
wise harm the force of the truth. But if they say that flesh
and Word are mixed after the manner of liquids, how do
they not know that liquids mixed one with other, say wine
and honey, are no longer simply what they were, but are
changed into something else by the addition of a quality
of a different species?

Hence if they say that the Flesh has been commingled
with the Word, there is every need of saying that each of
the above-mentioned leaves being what it was, and makes
up of both some one intermediate thing, of a different na-
ture full surely from what each was individually and as yet
unmingled one with other. Then what results? I would
fain ask of our opponents whither matters will proceed,
since they say that the Nature of God is henceforth min-
gled with flesh (for it hath not remained in identity, if their
mixture, as has been said, is true). Either therefore they
will say that He has this advance for the better, or else a
sinking down to the baser, according to reasonable under-
standing of things. If then they say that He has been
displayed superi^r to Himself, they have given the vote of
superiority to the flesh by reason of which He is perceived
to have sprung up to the higher: if they say that this was
not so but rather that He sank into the worse: the flesh
verily did Him too wrong even as it does to ourselves, al-

.FR. AG.
see above
p. 198.

though we say that He let Himself down to emptiness and entered into the likeness usward, not in order that Himself might be seen suffering somewhat in His own Nature, but that He might render us who are in flesh and blood superior to flesh and might make us, beyond the measures of human nature, sons of God.

But if as the perverted ones say He have been commingled with flesh, borne aside unto what He was not, how they say that He has not been wronged I cannot conceive^g; haply He is found to have lost in addition, the very being the Form of the Father, the Likeness and *Im-*
Heb. i. 3. *press of His Person* and to be no longer in equality with Him but rather in a depression and abasement of both Nature and glory.

12

It were therefore nothing hard to add very many discordant things to what have been said; but I think that one ought gladly to withdraw from thoughts tending to absurdity. We must therefore eschew commixture, for thus shall we escape the mischiefs too that come thence. But some other argument (as they say) as to these things finds its way in. For the Divine Paul is found to have
2 Cor. v. 16. written, *But if we have also known Christ after the flesh yet now no more do we know Him.* Hence if ye know not Christ after the flesh (they say), one must needs say that the flesh changes, so that it is the Nature of the Word Himself: as God is He known^h.

But I suppose one would say straightway to this, 'When
Rom. viii. 8, 9. , therefore he says of us too, *But they which are in the flesh cannot please God, but ye are not in the flesh but in the spirit*:—does he know that we are bare of flesh and blood? does he utter such things as though to disem-

^g Thus I have translated, emending *αὐτὸν, ἐννοεῖν οὐκ ἔχω, τάχα που*, from Cardinal Mai's translation of the syriac version. I had edited *αὐτὸν ἐννοεῖν, οὐκ ἔχων τάχα που*.

^h There seems to be some error here

in the greek words as preserved to us by these two late MSS. The words are, *ὥς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τοῦ Λόγου φύσιν εἶναι ὥς Θεὸς γινώσκεται*. Card. Mai's latin version from the syriac is here not close enough to help.

'in the weakness of the Flesh,' in which He suffered. 375

,bodied spirits?' Yet how is it not jugglery to conceive SYNOUS. or say this?

In regard to us then he calls by the name of *flesh*, the unreasonable and not irreprehensible passions of the flesh : but in regard to Christ the Saviour of us all, Who is All-Pure and knows not to transgress (for He *did no sin*), in 1 S. Pet. other way beseems it that *After the flesh* be conceived of; ii. 22. for no longer is He in the infirmities of the flesh.

13

He ⁱ has fasted, He hungered, He waxed weary from long wayfaring, yet more He was crucified and died : He conceded that He should suffer these things, not to the Nature of the Godhead (for the Divine and Supreme Nature is conceived of as beyond suffering) but rather to His own Flesh. But when He rose again having trampled on Death and trans-elemented the nature of man in Himself unto incorruption and life : He is at length seen wholly without share in fleshly infirmity. Therefore with reason does the minister of His mysteries say that *no more* is He known *after the flesh*, i. e. in fleshly weakness.

14

Having tasted death in the flesh for our sakes He rose again in His body. And verily, this very thing He had fore-signified to the people of the Jews saying, *Undo this* S. John ii. 19. *Temple and in three days I will raise it*, for that has been raised which was dissolved, but we say that the flesh and not the Nature of the Word was dissolved : for that were impossible.

15

Christ therefore Himself the Saviour of us all giving proof to His disciples that He rose from the dead, with flesh and *hands* and *feet* and declaring in plain words that He S. Luke xxiv. 40. is not *a Spirit* : how will one doubt that the flesh did not Ib. xxiv. 19.

ⁱ It will be observed that this fragment carries on the subject of the previous one : probably only a few lines intervened between them.

FR. AG. change into the Nature of Godhead, either before the Passion (for He suffered in the flesh of His will) nor when having trampled on death He arose the third day and was thus seen of His disciples ?

16

Who of the holy prophets is seen uttering afore things thus hard and impracticable and impossible ? who of the holy Apostles or Evangelists spake to them of these things ?

Jer. xxiii. 16. No one whatever. Let them therefore, *speaking out of their own heart and not out of the mouth of the Lord*, as it is written, be ashamed. For WE, whose care is orthodoxy and who makest a special aim zealously to follow the right words of the holy Fathers, not the unbridled mouth and empty-speakings void of understanding of some, will not be

Rom. xii. 3. minded *otherwise than we ought to be minded*, but ever going the straight way of the truth and having our mind filled with the holy Scriptures we both say that the Flesh of our LORD was ensouled with reasonable soul and believe that it is Divine and Spotless and glorified and moreover both life-giving and sanctifying, inasmuch as it became the own Flesh of the Word out of God the Father and affirm that it is not (as some have thought fit to think) of a son other than He, nor yet that it is changed into the Nature of Godhead.

17

S. Cyril against Diodore and Theodore in his Book against the Synousiasts wrote thus ^k,

7 the Apollinarians But perchance to these things some one will say, , What , then, if when contending with some of the heretics or , withstanding them who confuse the Natures⁷, they made , a discourse grosser than should be ? ,

I suppose that one would say that if the fault were in a single word, the hearers would forgive what was not far

^k From Severus against the Catholic Bishop of Cæsarea.

off from what is right. For that in some slight degree SYNOUS. they sometimes err even against their will, who apply themselves to subtilty and exactitude of idea, they have some just reason for apology. But if in works thus extensive and in their whole writings so to say, they have attacked the Truth blow upon blow, every where confessing Two sons, what excuse will be sufficient for them?

18

¹ these things too taught S. Cyril in his discourse against those who confuse the Natures, after this sort,

Receiving as a rule of right and undistorted Faith the Holy and God-inspired Scripture we say that when the Only-Begotten Word of God became First-born for us, He ceased not from being what He was and He is called, along with the title of Very God, also Son of Man: and He is not seen to have changed the Nature of the Godhead into flesh, which without change and without confusion was united to Him that He might adorn it with His own Glory: rather we must know that He filled it with God-befitting authority. Thus for a season was He seen of those in all the earth when He came from Heaven.

¹ from the collection referred to above, p. 326 note e and elsewhere.

Thanks be to Christ.

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The paragraphs entirely in italic refer wholly to the notes. The figures enclosed in brackets refer not to S. Cyril but to some that he is opposing.

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